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# STUDIES IN INDONESIAN CULTURE

I

OIRATA, A TIMORESE SETTLEMENT ON KISAR

BY

J. P. B. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

6785

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE  
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM  
AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE  
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*Kalau hendak membatja tjerita,  
Batja dari awal bermula;  
Harap landjut usia kita,  
Supaja boleh berdjumpa pula.*

*Wangsa wangsa delima wangsa,  
Delima wangsa bidjinja merah;  
Djangan tjari samamu bangsa,  
Semua bangsa berdarah merah.*



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## PREFACE

Under the general title of "Studies in Indonesian culture" I propose to publish the results of one year of ethnological and linguistic field work in the eastern part of the Malay archipelago. These researches, which were made under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, had in view a twofold purpose: firstly to furnish a reliable contribution to our very scanty knowledge of the cultures and languages concerned, and secondly to reconnoitre this ethnological field of study with a view to the possibilities and requirements of future research work. During the period from February 1933 till February 1934 five islands were visited, namely Buru (Moluccas), Wetan (Babar Islands), Moa, Wetar, and Kisar (South-western Islands). The duration of my stay on each of these islands fluctuated between the extremes of a few weeks and 4 months and was determined partly by external circumstances and partly by scientific considerations. As regards the latter I was chiefly led by the principle that, in the present state of ethnological science, limited or even fragmentary, but trustworthy data are far more valuable than apparently extensive or even exhaustive descriptions of questionable reliability. This principle is also in a great measure responsible for the working-method applied throughout the investigation. As any field worker knows, or ought to know, there is no better way of approach to a culture than the study of the language. In many cases, especially when the explorer has to make the very most of his time, it is the only possible way. For, even when the other characteristic elements of culture are entirely unapproachable, for the time being, owing to distrust or fear or shame or other obstructive feelings and considerations on the part of the native community, the language nevertheless remains accessible all the time: the explorer's seriously applying himself to its study is — so far as my experience goes — never distrusted but is, on the contrary, one of the best ways to establish friendly relations, disarming suspicion, overcoming false shame, and getting the better of whatever disguised or open counteraction there may be. At any time, moreover, language is the indispensable way of approach to the unwritten literature which embodies the essentials of the culture. There are still ethnologists, may be, who believe that it does not make much difference whether an unwritten literature is studied through and taken down in the vernacular or whether it is exclusively approached through the medium of translation. In support of this view it is argued that the literature in question has to be translated any way, that the assistance of an interpreter is indispensable in either case, and that, consequently, direct contact between the student and the community through the language is

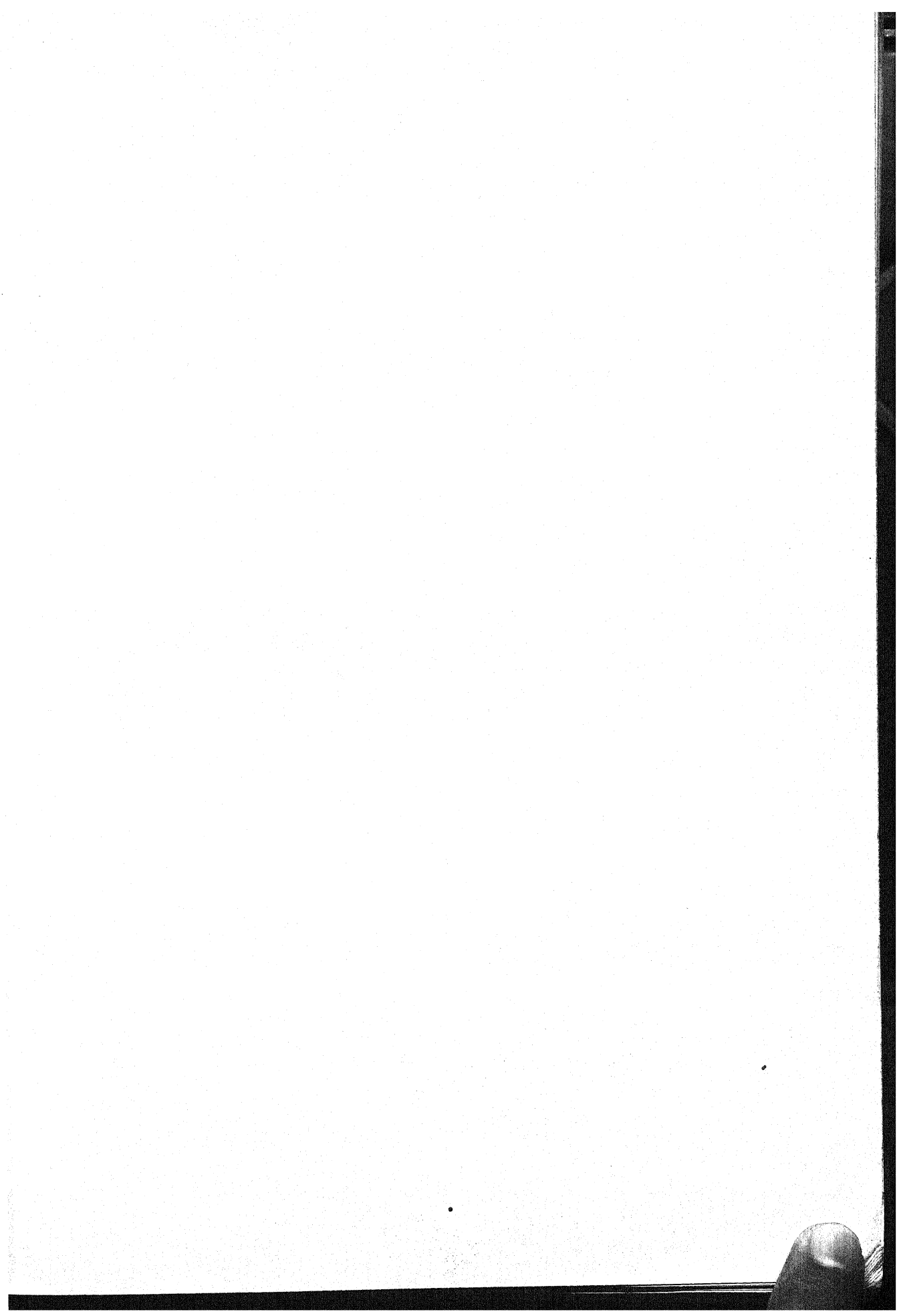
a fiction anyhow. This argument may sound plausible to outsiders; to the experienced field worker it will manifest a serious misunderstanding and underestimating of the cultural value of language and of its rôle in the peculiar relation between the explorer and his informants. It is by no means mainly on account of its function as a spiritual means of intercourse that the ethnological field worker should not ignore the language, but in consideration of its great emotional value, as one of the essentials of culture, to the community. And not the necessity of using an interpreter is the real drawback, the great obstacle preventing direct contact, but the mistaken view that nothing more is needed than his translations. It may without exaggeration be asserted that the relation between the explorer and his informants (in a wider sense: the community) is in large measure dependent on his attitude towards the language. As long as the explorer ignores the language and contents himself with translated information, his work will never be taken quite seriously, he will remain an amateurish outsider, more or less, in the eyes of the population, and the information offered, whatever it may be, is destined for amateurs and outsiders. This is not always done on purpose; but neither the informants nor the interpreter exert themselves: they take it easy, and so does, for that matter, the explorer himself! As soon, on the other hand, as the language is concerned in the explorer's work, slackness and amateurishness are done away with, and a tense earnest makes itself felt instead. The explorer is no longer a mere amateurish outsider, but a serious student, in a fair way to become an insider; and the interpreter realises, he has to look out and do his utmost in order to stand this new test, severe to the best of them.

This will suffice to explain why, quite apart from linguistic considerations, the language has always and everywhere been allotted a central place in my researches, even when I could dispose of no more than a few weeks. Such of my colleagues as do not agree with this method of obtaining information, may appreciate at least my not having yielded to the temptation of collecting much more comprehensive materials with greatly less exertion. This method also entails, of course, considerable variety of data, the more so, as I have throughout refrained as much as possible from asking direct questions. As the publishing of my results proceeds, my colleagues will notice — it is hoped — that, notwithstanding these principles, the type of data to be collected on each separate island has not been left to chance altogether.

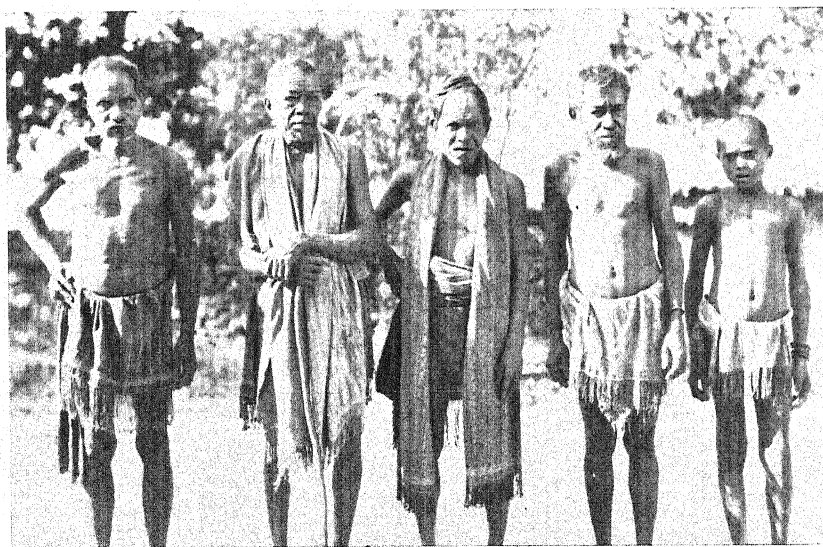
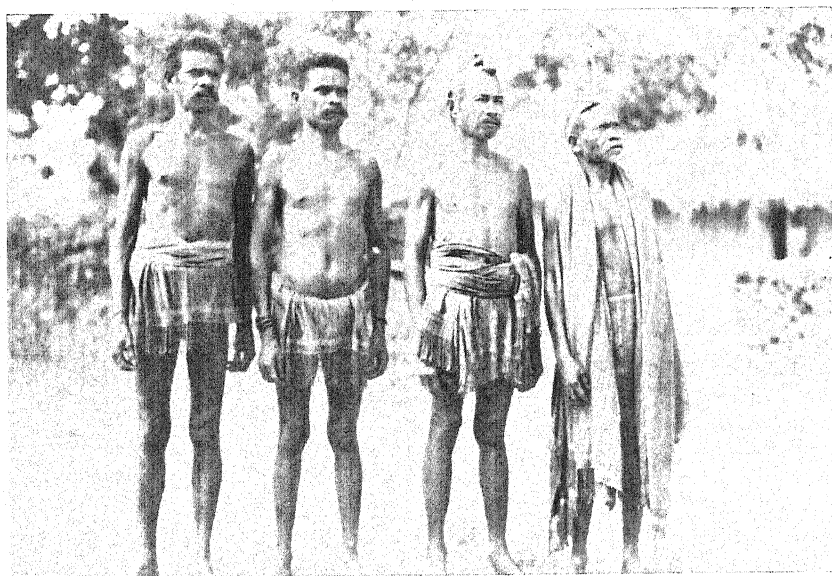
This first study of the series embodies the results of five weeks of field work in Oirata, a village in the southeastern coastal region of Kisar, founded by Timorese immigrants in the first half of the 18th century. According to Riedel<sup>1)</sup>, these refugees came from Loikera, in Northeast

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<sup>1)</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, 's-Gravenhage 1886, p. 403.







Eight of the nine chief informants; prominent members of clan Hanoo, Oirata Timur.

Timor, and the Oirata language still shows a close relationship with the Timorese dialect of Loikera. We have made no inquiry into this matter. Loikera is mentioned in our text as one of the numerous places, visited by our heroes during their wanderings in Timor, but we have no data by which Riedel's statement is confirmed. However this may be, it is a historical fact that the Oirata settlement is of Timorese origin; and up to the present day the language is very dissimilar from all other dialects of Kisar, which are practically one. This difference in language is attended with other cultural disparities, which, notwithstanding two centuries of close contact, are still manifest. The relations between the Kisarese proper and the immigrant group have always been more or less strained. In 1934 intermarrying was still quite unusual, and was considered by the former to be supernaturally dangerous. The immigrant group is also distinguished by certain characteristics of physical type; in how far it represents a different racial element, as Rodenwaldt seems to assume<sup>1</sup>), cannot be determined yet, as there are no anthropological data from Oirata available.

The interesting myth that, together with the linguistic data, forms the most valuable part of my materials, was narrated by 9 leading members of the village community and recorded with the assistance of a native interpreter (see plate). The latter was an Oirata man of some education, formerly "guru" (native teacher and pastor in the service of the protestant mission) on another island, who was sufficiently familiar with Malay, which he spoke fluently, though somewhat slovenly, to be used as a linguistic informant besides. Our method of working was as follows. After speaking one or two minutes, the narrator stopped and the interpreter slowly repeated what had been said, so that it could be written down. At the end of each session, when the narrators had left, the text was gone through, mistakes were rectified, and the interpreter dictated a Malay translation. When the whole myth had been recorded and translated in this manner, text and translation were worked through once more, word for word, and the former was grammatically analysed. Apart from this grammatical and lexicographic work in direct connection with the text, I systematically compiled a vocabulary and collected the data for a brief grammatical sketch.

In collecting the data for the population register (p. 30 ff.) I have had much help from J. Liko (spelled: Lico), belonging to the Marna-lineage of Liko on the island Moa, who was greatly interested in the investigation and accompanied me as an assistant to Wetar and Kisar.

As regards the question of orthography, I have after due consideration abandoned the idea of applying some really phonetic system of transcription: in the first place my stay was surely not long enough for me to become thoroughly familiar with the sounds and phonemes of the language; and further, I have no great confidence in any phonetic spelling-

<sup>1</sup>) E. Rodenwaldt, *Die Mestizen auf Kisar, Batavia* (no date), I, pp. 6, 114.

system which is exclusively based on auditory impressions and which lacks the solid foundation of experimental records. For the same reasons I have not taken pains to present the text in a normalized spelling. In the circumstances any system of normalization would have been too arbitrary to my scientific taste. Besides, I fail to see any objection in the fluctuations of pronunciation heard by me, rightly or wrongly, in living speech, being manifest in this written reproduction as well.

Neither the language nor, for all I know, any other element of Oirata culture has been purposely studied till the present day. In the widespread literature on the Southwestern Islands one will sporadically meet with brief statements or descriptive notes concerning Oirata, and it is not impossible, indeed, that a careful perusal of all published and unpublished administrative, military, missionary and other reports would yield some valuable data, but it is rather doubtful whether the considerable loss of time would be compensated by the results of such an investigation. For the time being I have judged it more appropriate to publish my own materials without any attempt at elucidating or amplifying them by means of the above-mentioned sources of information. A careful descriptive account of the latter is to be found in the meritorious bibliography "Overzicht van de Literatuur betreffende de Molukken"<sup>1)</sup>.

These introductory remarks should not be closed without giving utterance to my gratitude towards all authorities and other persons who have promoted my plans or in any way supported me with moral or material help. In the first place my sincere thanks are due to the Rockefeller Foundation (European Office, Social Sciences), which, by the grant of a special fellowship, enabled me to spend 14 months in the East Indies. Further to the Netherlands Government and University Authorities, who granted me a long furlough. To the East Indies Government, which supported my undertaking with its indispensable authority. To the administrative officers of widely different ranks, to whom I never appealed in vain for whatever assistance I needed. And, last not least, to the simple folk of all those sun-bathed, palm-encircled hamlets where the western student meets with unexpected understanding of his work, where he is made to feel at home, where his heart is gladdened by the gentle friendliness of Indonesian comradeship and hospitality.

J. P. B. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG.

*Oegstgeest*, October 1936.

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<sup>1)</sup> Part I (1550—1922) by W. Ruinen (Amsterdam 1928), Part II (1922—1933) by A. B. Tutein Nolthenius (Amsterdam 1935).

## THE VILLAGE OF OIRATA

**Name** In our text the present-day double village of Oirata (Oirata-East and Oirata-West) is also called *Oiriaka*, *Oiriata*, which names are said to mean "filthy water", and *Timur-Warat* (East-West). The mythical name proper is *Horna Werna*. This name is not explained in the text. It is evidently a formation like *Umana Ser(e)na* ("mother of islands" or more exactly "mother of lands, mother of coasts", i.e. Timor) with the meaning of "mother of capes".

**Clans and lineages** Either part of the village community is divided into a number of clans (Oir. *pada*, Amb. Mal. *soa*), each of which comprises a number of lineages (Oir. *koto*, Amb. Mal. *mata rumah*) as follows.

## Oirata Timur

Pada	Koto
Hanoo	Airetara, Dadar, Haisou, Houmaa, Huilono, Ili, Leka, Liuloro, Loslapai, Mahi-Mahada, Radi, Sairara, Samodo, Seli, Semule, Soo, Sorlewen, Tawanasin, Wakulono, Wasair.
Hunlori	Horwata, Laimodo, La'ule I, La'ule II, Loslapai.
Pa'umodo	Lelapai, Leultua, Lewedalu, Maleten, Wakurou.
Selewaku	Asanapi, Asanapi araruan, Dailorluun, Etehitiara, Hunlori, Ja'ulutur, La'uara, Leka, Lelapai, Loira, Loslapai, Luanmodo, Maroko, Ma'uara, Mildai, Nana'uru, Nun'kokara, Resimere, Rusu, Samalare, Waruara.

## Oirata Warat

Pada	Koto
Asatupa	Asalono I, Asalono II, Hooren, Hujeni, Ilwaru, Kinihi, Kir-kirjara, Momorulu, Rahil, Surlali-Malali.
A'udoro	Nakaleki, Pakinana, Resiara, Semu, Sesewoor, Taluara.
Ira	Iklailon, Ilwali, Koukousarlor, Lolower, Motohain, Nuruhun, Watalaman.

At the present day the lineages are still strictly exogamous, whereas the clans are not. Generally speaking a household is regarded as belonging to the clan and the lineage of its chief, the pater familias, and while the informants were very seldom in doubt as to the clan or lineage of any individual household chief, they often felt uncertain about the other members of the household. Lack of time prevented the present writer from

making inquiries about the pada and koto membership of each individual, but it is quite certain that neither clans nor lineages still are strictly patrilineal or strictly matrilineal, a case like the one of Malaitaraleu (Population Register T nr. 155) and his family being by no means exceptional: here one son and three daughters belong to their mother's lineage and one daughter only follows her father. The evidence at our disposal does not demonstrate the existence of fixed connubial relations between definite clans. The east and west halves of the village community are free to intermarry but are not obliged to do so. The distribution of personal names (cp. below: Population Register and Alphabetical list of names) rather seems to suggest a preference for marriage within one's own village-half. Yet it is not improbable, of course, that these two halves represent former phratries (exogamous moieties). There is one indication for this in the mythical tradition relating that, after the arrival of the Hollanders, Horsair and his brother-in-law Mutasair were sent to negotiate with the white people, Horsair being the negotiator and Mutasair acting as his interpreter. When the two are back in the village, Mutasair is jealous of Horsair, who has risen to a very high status and great power owing to the staff, the flag, and the charter, awarded to him by the "Company". Mutasair has been content to play a minor rôle, as an interpreter, but at the same time he does not feel inferior to his luckier relative, who, on his side, acknowledges Mutasair's claims. In order to preserve the balance of power Mutasair is appointed as ruler of Oirata Timur, whereas Oirata Warat is entrusted to the lineage of Resiara Taluara. The circumstance that the representatives of the village community are brothers-in-law, the rivalry between them, and the pronounced striving after preserving the balance of power, even to the neglect of the yet greatly respected marks of dignity awarded by the Company, are strongly suggestive of a phratry-relation between the two village-halves.

As appears from the names of individuals and lineages mentioned in this connection, the organisation indicated by the passage of the myth in question does not simply reflect the social grouping and the division of authority as they are to-day. At present Resiara and Taluara are two different lineages of the clan A'udoro, and the present village-chief (Oir. *oron'kai*, Amb. Mal. *orang kaja*) of Oirata Warat belongs to Resiara; his name is Horu (Pop. Reg. W 1). The *oron'kai* of Timur is now a member of lineage La'ule II (of clan Hunlori), named Ratuhanlori (Pop. Reg. T 1), and his predecessor's lineage is La'uli I, likewise of clan Hunlori; his name is Lewensara (Pop. Reg. T 125). Another pater familias of lineage La'ule II is Mutasere (Pop. Reg. T 101), but there is no individual named Mutasair at present. The name Horsair occurs in two lineages of clan Hanoo, viz. Huilono and Sairara (Pop. Reg. T 333, 472). The myth relates the founding of the tribal (and ceremonial) house of Horna Werna, named Sorlewen. At present this name designates a lineage of clan Hanoo and a male member of lineage Dadar, likewise belonging to Hanoo. Another

passage of the myth mentions Radi, Sairara, Leka, and Wartana as the four lineages of Horna Werna, and the nobles Damateti, Nusawere, Raiwere, and A'inlaru as their respective rulers. None of the latter four names occurs in the present-day population register of Oirata, but three of the four names of lineages are still used to designate three lineages of clan Hanoo. The fourth, Wartana, is unknown at present. The word may mean "what is (in the) West" (from *Warat* and the suffix *-ana*, cp. G. N. I § 3); in that case the other three lineages may be considered to represent the other three quarters of Cosmos. Neither their own names nor those of their rulers, however, make us any wiser.

Such is also the case with many other clan- and lineage names. The available data may be presented here; the names are in alphabetical order.

*Airetara*. This word, like the shorter form *Airete*, means "tamarind-tree". *Airete* and *Leliairetara* are proper names, the first male, the second female (Pop. Reg. T 305, 523, W 145). *Murun Airete* is a place name on *Kisar*, mentioned in the text. The sacred tree in the centre of the village is a tamarind.

*Asalono*. The word means "sacrificial fowl". It does not occur among the present-day proper names and it is not mentioned in the text, but several male proper names begin with *Asa-* and names of either sex may end in *-lono* (*Delono*, *Pajalono*, *Sorlono*, *Watalono*).

*Asanapi* and *Asanapi araruan*. *Araruan* means "sitting down". By the latter qualification one *Asanapi*-lineage is marked as higher in social status than the other *Asanapi*-lineage. We shall have to return to this distinction below, when dealing with caste. The meaning of *Asanapi* is unknown. The second part of the word: *-(n)api* is also found in the personal name *Kornapi* (Pop. Reg. T 56).

*Asatupa*. Meaning unknown. Not used as personal name and not mentioned in the text.

*A'udoro*. Meaning unknown. Not in use as personal name and not mentioned in the text.

*Dadar*. *Dadar(e)* means "strike, hit". Not in use as personal name and not mentioned in the text.

*Dailorluun*. Meaning unknown. *Dai-* and *lor* both occur several times as first part of a personal name. The text mentions *Liuleli Dailora*, a village on *Leti*, whose present name is *Luhuleli*; cp. also the proper names *Suridenloro*, *Suriliuloro*, *Sarlor*.

*Etehitara*. Meaning unknown. At present there seem to be no personal names beginning with *Ete-*, but the text has a place-name *Eteasalehen* (on *Timor*).

*Haisou*. Meaning unknown. *Haisou* and *Ratuhaisou* are in use as personal names (of resp. a son of a *Mildai*-man and a member of *Haisou*, Pop. Reg. T 665, 237).

*Hanoo*. Clan-name only. The word might mean "father's younger brother"; cp. the proper names *La'unoo*, *Lelinoo*.



**Hooren.** Name of a lineage only. Meaning unknown.

**Horwata.** There is a member of this lineage, named Ratuhorwata (Pop. Reg. T 47). The word is evidently composed of the name *Horu* and a word *-ata*, which is quite common in personal names (cp. *Dahiata*, *Haluata*, *Ma'uata* etc.).

**Houmaa.** Meaning unknown. It is not impossible that it is really the same word as *Humaa*, a personal name (also *Asahumaa*, Pop. Reg. W 88, T 558). The element *-maa* is common in personal names (cp. *Huamaa*, *Huimaa*, *Jahumaa*, *Lekimaa*, *Watamaa* etc.).

**Huilon.** Meaning unknown. Does not occur as personal name and is not mentioned in the text. *Hui-* is quite common as first part of female names and there are both male and female names ending in *-lono*.

**Hujeni.** Meaning unknown. Probably it is identical with *-hejeni*, *-hieni* in personal names (cp. *La'uhejeni*, *Lelihejeni*, *Ratuhieni*, *Resihieni*, Pop. Reg. T 388, W 269, 270, 272).

**Hunlori.** This word might mean „plain-pond”. It is an element in the personal names *La'uhunlori*, *Liurhunlori*, *Ratuhunlori*, *Watahunlori* (Pop. Reg. T 1, 3, 4, 11, 24, 50, 64, 73 etc., W 188, 230, 279).

**Iklailon.** Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Several personal names begin with or end in *-iklai-*: *Iklaihara*, *Iklaira*, *Dariklai*, *Kuliklai*, *Wuniklai* (Pop. Reg. W 175, 208, T 120, 250, 502, 799).

**Ili.** This may mean „rock, big stone” or „back part”. It is an element in several place names in the text, viz. *Ilimeti Watmeti* and *Ili Setiara* (on Timor), *Ilikesi* and *Irara Ililese* (on Kisar) and *Ilima'uata* (on Roma).

**Iliwali.** Meaning unknown. There is a female personal name *Lelilwali* (Pop. Reg. T 309) and in the text is mentioned a place-name *Iliwali Laitani* (on Kisar).

**Iliwaru.** Meaning unknown. There is a female personal name *Lelilwaru* and the element *-waru* occurs in two male personal names, viz. *Huawaru* and *Kelwaru* (Pop. Reg. T 105, 165, 380, 814).

**Ira.** This means “water”. It is also found in a very common male personal name, viz. *Liurira* (Pop. Reg. T 301, 315, 349, 410, 427, 501, 526, 560) and also in the names *Huilawanira* (Pop. Reg. W 348), *Lawanira* (Pop. Reg. T 335, 530), *Lelilonira* (Pop. Reg. W 334), *Lewehaira* (Pop. Reg. T 670), *Lonira* (Pop. Reg. W 205, 231), *Ratulonira* (Pop. Reg. W 226, 442), *Ratunelira* (Pop. Reg. T 303), *Resihaira* (Pop. Reg. T 729), *Surihaira* (T 102, 794), *Watalonira* (W 309). The text mentions three place-names beginning with *Ira-*, viz. *Huaneru Iraeten* and *Ira'uru Wasairi* (on Timor) and *Irara Ililese* (on Kisar).

**Ja'ulutur.** Meaning unknown. Nowhere mentioned in the text and not in use as personal name.

**La'uraa.** Meaning uncertain. *Lauara*, *lauare* (also: *la'uara*, *la'uaire*) means “dark, darkness”. *La'u* means “cloth, sarung” and several personal names end in *-ara* (cp. *Keiara*, *Reiara*, *Resiara*, *Taluara*, *Waduara* etc., Pop. Reg. T 81, 680, W 52, 53, 105, 117, 138, 323, 376).

**La'ule.** Meaning unknown. Not in use as personal name. The word may be composed of *la'u* (cloth) and *le* (house).

**Leka.** In the text Leka is mentioned as one of the four lineages of Horna Werna. The word might mean "eldest house". Personal names composed with *-leka* are Ratuleka and Surileka (Pop. Reg. T 331, 403, 408, 415, 475, 511, 545, 547, 616, 617, 636, 694, 745, 772, 809).

**Lelapai.** This means "large house". Not in use as personal name and not mentioned in the text.

**Leultua.** This may mean "central house", "house-centre", or perhaps "between (the) houses". Not used as personal name and not mentioned in the text.

**Lewedalu.** Meaning unknown. Also in use as personal name (Pop. Reg. T 190, 192, 193, 194, 210, 214). Not mentioned in the text. *Lewe-* is a very common element in personal names: Lewedin'kene, Lewehaira, Lewelaka, Leweratu, Lewesurimasa (Pop. Reg. T 119, 164, 215, 670, W 165).

**Liuloro.** Meaning unknown. Also in the personal name Suriliuloro (Pop. Reg. T 260). *Liul-* also occurs in the personal name Liuresiara (Pop. Reg. W 45, 142) and in the place-name Liuleli Dailora, mentioned in the text. The element *-loro* is also found in the personal name Denloro and its derivatives Lelidenloro and Suridenloro (Pop. Reg. T 275, 699, 723). The name Liuloro is not mentioned in the text.

**Loira.** This means "illness, disease". It is also in use as a pers. name (Pop. Reg. W 224).

**Lolower.** Meaning unknown. Not in use as pers. name and not mentioned in the text.

**Loslapai.** Meaning: "large boat" (*losu lapai*); not in use as pers. name and not mentioned in the text.

**Luanmodo.** Meaning unknown. Also in use as pers. name (Pop. Reg. W 136).

**Mahi-Mahada.** The text mentions *Mahi* and *Mahada* as two separate lineages on Kisar. Not in use as pers. names.

**Maleten.** Meaning: "being narrow, squeezey, tight", "what is narrow etc.". Not in use as pers. name and not mentioned in the text.

**Maroko.** Meaning unknown. In use as pers. name by itself and in Lelimaroko (Pop. Reg. T 376, 481, 525, 582).

**Ma'ara.** Meaning unknown. The text mentions an inhabitant of Wetar named Ma'ara. At present not in use as pers. name, but there are several names beginning with *Ma'u-*: Ma'uata, Ma'uhanrasa, Ma'ukati, Ma'ukoho, Ma'ulene, Ma'uloi, Ma'unaha, Ma'uresi, Ma'usara, Ma'useilewen, Ma'uteri, Ma'utwala (Pop. Reg. T 242, 302, 368, 396, 503, 519, 666, 681, 736, 673, W 31, 16, 85, 100, 190, 199).

**Mildai.** Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. There is a pers. name Resimildai (Pop. Reg. T 588).

**Momorulu.** This means "navel or centre of the village". Not



mentioned in the text. There is one pers. name ending in *-ulu*, viz. Haja'ulu (Pop. Reg. T 815).

*Motohain*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. The element *-hain-* occurs in some pers. names, viz. Haindail, Ratahain, Ratuluhain (Pop. Reg. T 467, W 72, 78, 162, 256).

*Nakaleki*. Meaning unknown. Does not occur in the text. The element *-leki-* is found in some pers. names: Lalleki, Ratusarleki, Lekimaa, Lekiruhi (Pop. Reg. T 39, 86, 308, 321, 393).

*Nana'uru*. *Nana* means "snake" or "pit" and *uru* "moon". Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Nun'okara*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Also in a pers. name: Ratunun'kokara; cp. also Nun'kou, Huakou, Latukou, Sairkou, Lelikara, Ratukara (Pop. Reg. T 91, 297, 429, 494, 69, 641, W 287).

*Nuruhun*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Used as pers. name (Pop. Reg. W 392).

*Pakinaa*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Not used as pers. name.

*Paumodo*. This may mean "small skin" or, perhaps, "small bag". Not used as pers. name and not mentioned in the text.

*Radi*. Meaning unknown. Mentioned in the text as one of the four lineages of Horna Werna. Not used as pers. name.

*Rahil*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Resiara*. *Resi* means "vanquish". What *-ara* means here is quite uncertain. In the text *Resiara-Taluara* is mentioned as a lineage of Oirata Warat. *Talu* also means "vanquish". *Resiara* also occurs as pers. name (Pop. Reg. W 52, 53, 105, 117) and is a common element in names: Dairesiara, Keiresiara, Leliresiara, Liuresiara, Suriresiara, Wataresiara etc. (Pop. Reg. T 138, 154, 266, W 8, 45, 68, 80, 89, 91, 108, 130, 142, 144, 364).

*Resimere*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Many pers. names begin with *Resi-*: *Resiara* (see above) etc. (see Alphabetical list of proper names). Two pers. names end in *-resi*, viz. Ma'uresi and Raturesi (Pop. Reg. T 503, 648, 783).

*Rusu*. This means "nail, pin". Not mentioned in the text. It occurs in two pers. names, viz. Watarusu ("hairpin") and Huarusu (Pop. Reg. T 156, 288, W 177, 307).

*Sairara*. Meaning unknown. Mentioned in the text as one of the four lineages of Horna Werna. Also used as pers. name (Pop. Reg. T 338).

*Samalare*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. There is a pers. name Malara (Pop. Reg. T 129).

*Samodo*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. It occurs in two pers. names, viz. Liursamodo and Resisamodo (Pop. Reg. T 221, W 55, 290).

*Selewaku*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Seli*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name. It may be the same word which is found in *Selewaku* and in the pers. names *Selkati* and *Selmalai* (Pop. Reg. T 256, W 302).

*Semu*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Semule*. As above.

*Sesewoor*. As above.

*Soo*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. Several pers. names begin with or end in *soo*: *Sookai*, *Soolari*, *Soolaru*, *Soomali*, *Soomatur*, *Sooratu*, *Kal soo*, *Kulsoo*, *La'usoo*, *Leliso*, *Loisoo*, *Mimisoo*, *Rumlasoo*, *Wata-soo* etc. (cp. Alphabetical list of proper names).

*Sorlewen*. Mentioned in the text as the tribal and ceremonial house of *Horna Werna*. Also used as pers. name (Pop. Reg. T 361).

*Surlali-Malali*. Meaning unknown. According to the text *Surlali* is a place-name on *Kisar*. Not in use as pers. names.

*Taluara*. *Talu* means "vanquish". In the text *Resiara-Taluara* is mentioned as a lineage of *Oirata Warat*. Also used as pers. name and in the pers. name *Liurtaluara* (Pop. Reg. W 138, T 491).

*Tawanasin*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. There is a pers. name *Liurtawanasin*.

*Wakulono*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Wakuro*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text and not used as pers. name.

*Waruara*. As above. Cp. the pers. names *Huawaru*, *Kelwaru* (Pop. Reg. T 105, 380, 814).

*Wasair*. Meaning unknown. In the text is mentioned a place-name on *Timor*: *Ira'uru Wasairi*. Cp. the pers. names *Ratu(w)asair*, *Resiwasair*, *Suriwasair* (Pop. Reg. T 345, 452, 508).

*Watalaman*. Meaning unknown. Not mentioned in the text. There is a pers. name *Lawatalaman* (Pop. Reg. W 356).

**Caste** The organisation in *pada* and *koto* is intersected by the caste system. There are three castes. The highest is called *Mar(a)n(a)* or, occasionally, *Ratu*. The second is called *Wuh(u)r(u)*, and the third *Atan(a) uma uaruan* (lit. "sitting under the people"), usually abbreviated to *Atan*. The word *atan(a)* really means "servant, slave", but the third caste should not be confused with the former fourth status-group, that of the slaves. The mythical traditions pretending to account for the existence of these castes, which usually present them as having been consciously instituted at a certain time, have of course no historical value. We meet with the same three castes, with dialectical variants of the same names, on all the Southwestern Islands. Everywhere they play a very prominent part

in the mythical and historical tradition, in the religious and social organisation, and in the economic and political life of the present day. In theory they are still real castes, in the sense of endogamous, socially hereditary status-groups; and the mythical tradition that emphasizes their endogamous character is expressly stated to be still valid. In practice, however, the castes are everywhere degenerating into mere status-groups membership of which is not dependent on birth only and which are neither strictly endogamous nor hereditary in any definite way. We may observe various phases and directions of development on the different islands. On some of them clan-membership is patrilineal, on others it is matrilineal, and on some it vacillates between the two and is dependent on various social and economic circumstances. This is also true of caste-membership. But the processes of development are different in the two cases. It is hardly to be doubted that the clan-organisations on all these islands have developed from „double” systems (in which patrilineal and matrilineal clans were organically connected)<sup>1)</sup>, and this origin explains both the existence of patrilineal and matrilineal organisations in neighbouring and closely related communities and the vacillating between patrilineal and matrilineal clan-heredity. The question of patrilineal or matrilineal caste-membership, on the other hand, does not arise so long as the castes are strictly endogamous. When this is the case, caste-membership needs must be patrilineal and matrilineal at the same time. As soon, however, as the endogamous rule is slackened, infractions being connived at or even expressly allowed, the problem arises, which of the two castes, in mixed marriages, ought to preponderate with regard to offspring. It is only a matter of course that most communities at first solve this problem incidentally and inconsistently, each separate case being dealt with on its own merits; but gradually the various solutions crystallize into some form of systematic compromise between the deep-rooted feeling of what is due to caste and the decomposing modern trends which no caste-system is proof against in the long run. Now the Oirata community is still in the phase of incidental solutions, and perhaps it will jump over the phase of a new system, for here caste is rapidly losing ground in the strife of conflicting social forces. Anybody who has come into contact with caste-grouping on the other Southwestern Islands and who afterwards studies our population register of Oirata from this point of view, will not fail to notice some striking peculiarities that demand an explanation. In the first place the number of Marna-lineages is disproportionally large. Secondly, in Oirata Timur and in one clan of Oirata Warat, viz. Ira, Atan-people are almost entirely lacking. Thirdly, the Wuhru-people of Oirata Timur are divided into two groups: Wuhru and Wuhru II. Even without having any further information at our disposal we should be safe in stating that this state of affairs must be the result of a considerable shifting in the domain of caste-grouping. As it is, this conclusion is confirmed by the

<sup>1)</sup> See F. A. E. van Wouden, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, Leiden 1935.

statements of native informants to the effect that a considerable number of lineages have in the course of time managed to promote themselves to a higher caste than the one to which they originally belonged. The designation Wuhru II indicates people who are really Atan, but who have risen to the status of Wuhru. In the same way there are several Marna-lineages and persons who were formerly Wuhru, but our informants were not able or not willing (probably the latter, for fear of giving offence) to sort the Marna-people in the same way. This consideration obviously also prevented the chief informant about Oirata Warat, the orang kaja of this village-half, from separating the new Wuhru-people of Warat from the genuine ones. There are no means to fill up this gap in our information and to pick out the real Marna- and Wuhru-lineages with certainty. There are, however, some data which enable us to come a little farther at least. Our starting-point may be the state of affairs in clan H u n l o r i of Oirata Timur, about which we are rather well informed. Taking into account the information about the two Wuhru-groups (Wuhru I and II), we may state that this clan really has 2 Marna-lineages, 2 Wuhru-lineages, and 1 Atan-lineage. It is hardly to be doubted that La'ule I and La'ule II have formerly been one. They surely represent the old Marna-lineage of this clan. Both the present and the former orang kaja of Oirata Timur are La'uli-men, and the lineage also meets the traditional demand that Marna-lineages should be strong and powerful in every respect and consequently, before all things, large. There are 9 La'uli household-chiefs against 9 in the two Wuhru-lineages, Horwata and Laimodo, together. The largest group is Loslapai, at present Wuhru, but formerly Atan, with 11 household-chiefs. We cannot be sure that this proportion corresponds with the ratio of the three castes in the whole clan, especially in a small clan, where deviations of the norm may be expected owing to great differences in size between the households. The chief difficulty, however, lies in our scanty information about the clan- and lineage-membership of each individual member of a household. In general we may presume that most households are homogeneous as to caste. Of the 9 La'uli household-chiefs 6 are married with Marna-women and have Marna-children. We are not informed about 2, and 1 is married with a Wuhru-woman and has Wuhru-children (Pop. Reg. T 43—46). Of the 11 Atan-householders 5 have Atan-wives; one of these 5 couples is childless and the other four have Atan-children. About the caste-relations in the 9 Wuhru-households we are unfortunately not informed. Though scanty, this evidence certainly does not point to frequency of mixed marriages. Moreover, it is corroborated by the unanimous statement of all informants that the great majority of marriages is still regular as to caste. It should be noted that in the one irregular marriage registered the children belong to their mother's caste.

The state of affairs in the clan P a' u m o d o seems to be rather different at first sight. There are 3 Marna-lineages, viz. Lewedalul with 4, Leultua with 1, and Wakurou with 1 householders; 1 Wuhru-lineage:

Maleten, with 1 householder, and 1 Atan-lineage: Lelapai, with 8 householders. Moreover, there are two more Atan-householders about whose lineages we are not informed, viz. Sorwodo (T 150) and Rakulesen (T 181). Now the name Sorwodo is also found in Lel(i)sorwodo, an Atan-woman, registered as belonging to Leultua (T 163), but, as a foster-daughter, undoubtedly adopted from and really still belonging to an Atan-lineage. Sorwodo's wife, La'ukelja'u (T 151), on the other hand, has the same name as a sister of Ratulewen, a Lelapi-householder (T 225), and as a daughter of Rakulesen (T 181), who also has a son Ratulewen (T 186). So it can hardly be doubted that both Sorwodo and Rakulesen are Lelapai. Now 1 Wuhru-householder against 6 Marna is not a normal ratio. Probably 1, or more probably still, 2 of the 3 Marna-lineages are of Wuhru-origin, but it is not possible to say which. At present Lewedalu is the largest and most important Marna-lineage. If it is also the original one, the ratio is 4 Marna-householders against 3 Wuhru and 10 Atan.

In clan H a n o o we meet with the same disproportion between Marna- and Wuhru-lineages as in Pa'umodo. There are no less than 8 Marna-lineages: Leka, Liuloro, Haisa'u, Radi, Sairara, Soo, Sorlewen, Wasair, with 23 householders altogether; 3 Wuhru-lineages: Huilono, Seli, Wakulono, with 6 householders; and 9 former Atan-lineages, with 45 householders. Obviously here as in Pa'umodo several of the present-day Marna-lineages must formerly have been Wuhru. In this case mythical tradition helps us to select the real Marna-lineages. Four of the 8 above-mentioned lineages are mentioned in the text, viz. Sorlewen (as the tribal and ceremonial house of Horna Werna) and Leka, Radi and Sairara (as three of the four lineages of Horna Werna). The names of the two mythical founders of Horna Werna, Lewenmali and Asamali, are still in use as pers. names in the lineage Sorlewen only. All persons and groups whose deeds and adventures are related by the sacred origin myth are Marna. People of lower caste and minor status are seldom mentioned by name; they may be referred to as *seri dari* ("army, followers, hosts") or, when there is question of villages, as *momor aalamana* ("village population", lit. "contents of the village"), but usually their existence is treated as a matter of course, of which we need not be reminded. So it cannot be doubted that Leka, Radi and Sairara have of old been names of Marna-lineages. We may presume that the other four Marna-lineages: Haida'u, Liuloro, Soo, and Wasair are originally Wuhru. In that case the ratio would be: Marna 4 lineages with 14 householders, Wuhru 7 lineages with 15 householders, Atan 9 lineages with 45 householders.

In clan S e l e w a k u the Wuhru-lineages are likewise in the minority. There are 8 Marna-lineages, viz. Etehitiara, Ja'ulutur, La'udara, Lelapai, Ma'udara, Resimere, Rusu, Samalare, with 13 householders; 1 Wuhru-lineage, Loira, with 3 householders; 10 Atan-lineages, viz. Dailorluun, Hunlori, Leka, Loslapai, Luanmodo, Maroko, Nana'uru, Nun'kokara, Waruara, with 31 householders; and, lastly, two mixed lineages, viz. Mil-

dai, which is partly Marna (Pop. Reg. T 662) and partly Atan (Pop. Reg. T 750), and Asanapi, which is partly Wuhru (8 householders) and partly Atan (T 771). The Asanapi-people who are Wuhru are distinguished by the designation *araruan* ("who are sitting down"). As regards Mildai it should be noted that in the mixed marriage of an Atan-member of Mildai with a Marna-woman (T 750—754) the three children are Marna. In this clan too the relatively large number of Marna-lineages must be due, partly at least, to several Wuhru-lineages having risen to the status of Marna. The most important Marna-lineage at present is Resimere, with 5 householders, but we have no data enabling us to select the former Wuhru-lineages.

The state of affairs in Oirata Warat differs in more than one respect from what we found in Oirata Timur. According to the informants Wuhru II-lineages are entirely lacking. There are still Atan-groups that have not become Wuhru. There are some important lineages consisting of Marna and Atan. In clan Audoro the two Marna-Atan-lineages Resiara and Taluara are undoubtedly originally one. It has already been mentioned that tradition treats them as one lineage and that the two names both mean "vanquish". This lineage R. T. has at present 3 Marna- and 13 Atan-householders. Our register shows that each of these 16 households is unmixed as to caste. Far less important are the three lineages which are Marna at present, viz. Nakaleki with 1, Semu with 2, and Pakinana with 2 householders. It is probable that these, wholly or partly, represent former Wuhru-lineages. Finally there is the large Atan-lineage Sesewoor, with 15 householders. So, regarding the 3 Marna-lineages as really Wuhru, we have the following ratio in clan Audoro: Marna 3, Wuhru 5, Atan 28.

In clan Asatupa there is again a Marna-Atan-lineage, viz. Asalono, registered as 2 separate lineages: Asalono I (Marna) and Asalono II (Atan). Asalono I has at present one male householder with a normal household (W 156—161). The other householders of this lineage are a grandfather living alone with his wife (W 162—163) and a widow living with 2 foster-children (W 164—166) the latter of whom is Atan. Asalono II has 2 male householders, each with a wife and 3 children (W 295—304). Then there are 6 Marna-lineages: Hujeni, Ilwaru, Kinihi, Momorulu, Rahil, Surlali-Malali, with 4, 1, 1, 1, 1, and 4 householders respectively. According to the informants the lineages Hooren and Kirkirjara are Wuhru. If this were true, there would be 25 Wuhru-householders, 20 of whom belonging to Hooren. It is quite evident that a ratio of Marna 15, Wuhru 25, and Atan 2 must be due to considerable social changes. Of course Hooren is an old Atan-lineage. Kirkirjara may be Wuhru of old. Further Wuhru-lineages are to be looked for among the present-day Marna-lineages, but which of these 7 groups were formerly Marna and which were Wuhru cannot be ascertained. There are 4 mixed marriages in Asatupa, viz. 2 of a Wuhru-man with an Atan-woman (W 210, W 226), both childless, and 2 of a Marna-man with an Atan-woman (W 264,



W 288), the former with one Marna-child and the latter with 2 Atan-sons and 1 Marna-daughter.

Clan I r a, finally, has 3 Marna-lineages: Lolower, Koukousarlör, and Motohain, with 2, 1, and 2 householders respectively. One of the Lolower-householders (W 331) is married with a Wuhru-woman and so is also the Koukousarlör-householder (W 333), whose son is Wuhru. If one of these 3 lineages has been Marna of old, this one is probably Motohain. There are 4 Wuhru-lineages: Iklailon, Ilwali, Nuruhun, and Watalaman, with 3, 1, 5, and 4 householders respectively. Probably the two latter have formerly been Atan, but conclusive data are lacking.

Surveying our evidence regarding caste in present-day Oirata, we may state that the three castes are on their way of becoming mere status-groups without fixed rules of heredity and unhampered by rigorous marriage prohibitions. There is still a pronounced preference for unmixed marriages, and it is not to be doubted that old Marna-families in particular have a dislike to marrying outside their own caste. As in many other places, there is a tendency to have the children follow the mother's caste in mixed marriages, but in this respect too considerations of other kinds may weigh heavier in the balance than the belief in either patrilineal or matrilineal heredity. The most serious symptom of the decay of the caste system and the slackening of caste-feeling is, of course, the possibility of promoting oneself to a higher caste. To inhabitants of other islands, where caste is still caste, the state of affairs in Oirata is rather contemptible; to them the numerous newly-made Marna-people are ridiculous upstarts. In the more archaic village of Tounwawan on Moa, for example, there is one Marna-lineage, the lineage of the orang kaja. A village-chief of another lineage would not have any real authority. Further there are a few Wuhru-lineages, to which the clan-chiefs belong. The rest of the population is Atan. Mixed marriages occur, and it may happen that an influential father tries to override certain rules of heredity, but nobody would dream of trying to raise his person or his lineage to a higher caste.

**Kinship terminology**

The following terms of kinship and affinity have been registered.

A. Parents' generation.

1. Father — *hawaini*, *ha*; term of address: *hale!* Foster-father — *ha lausana*. Stepfather — *ha wari aamiren* (or *aamirana*) (lit. who sits on the father-nest). *Ha nami* (lit. father and brothers) is a collective term for nearest male relatives; usually, however, it means brothers.
2. Father's elder brother — *ha lapana kaka*.  
Father's younger brother — *ha lapana noonoo*.
3. Father's elder sister — *irimi kaka*.  
Father's younger sister — *irimi noonoo*.
4. Father's brother's wife — *irimi (kaka or noonoo)*.
5. Father's sister's husband — *saisai (kaka or noonoo)*.

6. Mother — *nawaini, na*; term of address: *nale*! Foster-mother — *na lausana*. Stepmother — *na wari aamiren* (or *aamirana*) (lit. who sits on the mother-nest). *Na lerene* (lit. mother and sisters) — nearest female relatives, sisters.
7. Mother's sister — *na lapana* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
8. Mother's brother — *saisai* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
9. Mother's sister's husband — *saisai* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
10. Mother's brother's wife — *irimi* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).

B. Own generation.

11. Man's elder brother — *kaka*.
12. Man's younger brother — *noonoo*.
13. Man's sister — *lerene* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
14. Man's father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son — *kaka*.
15. Man's father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter — *lerene*.
16. Woman's elder sister — *noonoo kaka*.
17. Woman's younger sister — *noonoo*.
18. Woman's brother — *nami* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
19. Woman's father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son — *nami*.
20. Woman's father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter — *noonoo*.
21. Man's brother's wife — *wajana tuhuru*.
22. Man's brother's wife's brother — *wajana nami*.
23. Man's brother's wife's sister — *wajana tuhuru*.
24. Man's sister's husband — *wajana* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
25. Man's sister's husband's brother — *wajana nami*.
26. Man's sister's husband's sister — *wajana tuhuru*.
27. Wife's brother — *wajana* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
28. Wife's brother's wife — *wajana tuhuru* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
29. Wife's sister — *kaka tuhuru* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
30. Wife's sister's husband — *kaka nami* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
31. Woman's sister's husband — *mali* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
32. Woman's sister's husband's sister — *mali tuhuru*.
33. Woman's sister's husband's brother — *mali nami*.
34. Woman's brother's wife — *mali* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
35. Woman's brother's wife's sister — *mali tuhuru*.
36. Woman's brother's wife's brother — *mali nami*.
37. Husband's brother — *noo nami* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
38. Husband's brother's wife — *noo tuhuru* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
39. Husband's sister — *mali* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).
40. Husband's sister's husband — *mali nami* (*kaka* or *noonoo*).



## C. Children's generation.

41. Child — *modo* (cp. also Vocabulary s.v. *Wa'i<sub>1</sub>*).
42. Son — *modo nami*.
43. Daughter — *modo tuhuru*.
44. The various nephews and nieces are designated by circumscriptive terms. About *modolerene* (instead of *leren(e)modo*), sister's child, see G. N. II § 2.

A rapid survey of these terms suffices to show that they do not reflect any of the various clan systems we know of at present. On the other hand, terminological distinctions and equalizations suggesting a former clan system are not altogether lacking. The terms regarding the parents' generation are particularly instructive from this point of view. Firstly there is the well-known grouping of father's brother and mother's sister as belonging to the father-mother-group on the one side, and of father's sister, mother's brother's wife, mother's brother and father's sister's husband as not belonging to the father-mother-group on the other side. The difference between the terms *saisai* and *irimi* regards difference in sex only, the two terms being evidently meant to designate the male and female members of one group of similar relations. The only deviation from a real clan terminology consists in father's brother's wife and mother's sister's husband being classed with the *irimi-saisai*-group, but this deviation suggests that the *irimi-saisai*-group is not at present felt as a group of definite clan-relations, but as a kinship group of the parents' generation that does not belong to the parents' group proper.

The terms regarding one's own generation are still less suggestive of a clan terminology. A man calls all his male first cousins *kaka* and all his female first cousins *lerene*; to a woman all her male first cousins are *nami*, and all her female first cousins *noonoo*. So all these relations are classed with the brother-sister-group. Of course they may also be designated by means of circumscription, but there are no other kinship terms than the above-mentioned brother-sister terms, which are also used as terms of address.

The terminology of relations by marriage is likewise very simple. A man's brothers- and sisters-in-law, and their brothers and sisters, are all *wajana*, except his wife's sister and her husband, who are *kaka*. Likewise a woman's brothers- and sisters-in-law and their brothers and sisters are all *mali*, except her husband's brother and his wife, who are *noo*. When the term *wajana* is used without the additions *nami* or *tuhuru* (male or female), it means a man's wife's brother or sister's husband, and in the same way the term *mali* without designation of sex means a woman's husband's sister or brother's wife. In other words, all these relations are really divided into two groups: the *kaka-noo*-group and the *wajana-mali*-group. It is evident that the terms *wajana* and *mali* essentially mean man's brother-in-law and woman's sister-in-law respectively, the other members of the group being designated as "female" or "male" brothers-in-law

(*wajana tuhuru* or *nami*) and "male" or "female" sisters-in-law (*mali nami* or *tuhuru*). The meaning of the words *kaka* and *noo(noo)* as designations of the other group is less obvious. We have met with the term *kaka* in the meaning of man's elder brother, man's male first cousin, and with the term *noo(noo)* in the meaning of man's younger brother, woman's younger sister (whereas woman's elder sister is not called *kaka* but *noonoo kaka*), woman's female first cousin. Obviously *kaka* is more especially a term applied by males to males, and *noo(noo)* a term applied by females to females, as we also found to be the case with the terms *wajana* and *mali*. Consequently, just as *wajana tuhuru*, used to designate a man's brother's wife, brother's wife's sister, sister's husband's sister, and wife's brother's wife, really means: a man's female brother-in-law, so the term *kaka tuhuru* for wife's sister really means: female male relation of the brother-cousin-group, whereas *kaka nami* may be translated with male male relation of the brother-cousin-group. It will now be evident that the couple of wife's sister and her husband has been named after the latter (*kaka*), just as the couple wife's brother and his wife has been named after the former (*wajana*). In the same way the husband's brother (*noo nami*) is named after his wife (*noo*). Now it is also clear why the *kaka-noo(noo)*-group is terminologically distinguished from the *wajana-mali*-group: a man's wife's sister's husband is not regarded as a mere brother-in-law, but as a brother, and a woman's husband's brother's wife is not a sister-in-law, but a sister. This equalization is indeed not to be wondered at, since in any clan system with fixed connubial relations between definite clans a man's wife's sister's husband may, and in many cases will be, his brother, and a woman's husband's brother's wife will often be her sister; whereas a man's wife's brother's wife can only be his sister, and a woman's husband's sister's husband can only be her brother, when the connubial relation between the clans is reciprocal (symmetrical), brother and sister being free to marry with sister and brother, but the relatives in question cannot be identical when the connubial relation is asymmetrical, brother and sister being obliged to marry into different clans. The very fact of a distinction being made between the *wajana-mali*- and the *kaka-noonoo*-group does not, indeed, prove, but certainly suggests the former existence of asymmetrical connubial clan-relations. The terminology in its entirety, however, and especially the terms regarding the cousin-group, no more than our other data concerning the social system justify a definite conclusion as to this point.

Demographic  
data

Our population register (p. 30ff.) shows that in January 1934 the population of Oirata Timur numbered 363 males and 468 females, or 831 souls in all; the population of Oirata Warat 167 males and 230 females, or 397 souls in all. So the whole double village numbered 530 males and 698 females, or 1238 souls altogether. According to Riedel<sup>1)</sup>, in 1882 the

<sup>1)</sup> Op. cit. (see Preface), pp. 401, 408.

population amounted to 1389 and the ratio of sex was slightly different in favour of the males, viz. 577 males against 812 females.

The 831 inhabitants of Oirata Timur are distributed over 180 houses, and the 397 inhabitants of Warat occupy 81 houses. In our register the inhabitants of each house are divided into 5 categories: 1. householders (heads of families) and their wives ("parents"); 2. their children; 3. their foster-children; 4. their resident unmarried (or widowed) brothers and sisters; 5. their resident parents. It will be noticed that some houses accommodate more than one household. Formerly it was the custom for several families — probably a whole lineage or a part of a lineage with resident wives or husbands — to live together in one large house, but the joint action of administration and mission has gradually made away with most of the old-fashioned large lineage- or clan-habitations and replaced them by new-fangled small one-family-houses. Warat is more conservative in this respect than Timur: it has no less than 8 houses with more than one family (cp. W 61—65, 67—70, 81—84—86, 97—102, 110—117, 140—145, 272—275, 329—331), whereas in Timur there is one only (T 181—182). Yet the average number of inhabitants per house in Warat (about  $4\frac{9}{10}$ ) is not much higher than it is in Timur (about  $4\frac{2}{3}$ ).

The parents' column shows that polygynous marriages are by no means frequent. In Timur there are but 4 heads of families with 2 wives (T 137, 150, 322, 736) and 1 with 3 wives (T 825). There are 3 women whose relations to the other members of the household are dubious (77, 80, 83). In Warat 4 heads of families have 2 wives (W 10, 49, 226, 316); the number of women whose position is uncertain amounts to 15 (41, 58, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 99, 104, 109, 113, 124, 170, 171, 172). It is quite improbable that many of the latter are wives; undoubtedly most of them are members of a younger generation than the informant's, about which he was less well informed; in other words, children or foster-children, especially the latter.

As far as may be gathered from our register, the ratio of heads of families and their children is as follows. In Timur there are 181 heads of families, 342 children (146 males and 196 females), and 28 foster-children (10 males and 18 females). Warat numbers 91 heads of families, 123 children (49 males and 74 females), and 19 foster-children (7 males and 12 females). It is noteworthy that the percentage of children is considerably higher in Timur, whereas the percentage of foster-children is far higher in Warat ( $\pm 15\frac{1}{2}\%$  against  $\pm 8\frac{1}{2}\%$ ). It would be difficult to believe that these two facts are unconnected, the more so as we find that the number of childless families (that is heads of families without resident own children) is relatively much larger in Warat (38 out of 91 heads of families) than in Timur (53 out of 181 heads of families), and that in Warat 10 out of 69, but in Timur no more than 11 out of 28 foster-children are living with families without own resident children. These foster-children (*modo lausana*) should not be confused with adoptive children, for which no separate native term seems to exist. The Malay terms *anak angkat* and

*anak piara* are both translated with *modo lausana*, but although we are not able to prove that this term is never used in cases of real adoption, it is quite sure that the usual meaning is foster-child (Mal. *anak piara*). These foster-children are brought up together with their foster-parents' own children and are treated as members of the family, but they are not really adopted into the family (lineage, clan), and, consequently, have no hereditary rights; nor is it possible for them to acquire the status of their foster-parents when the latter are of higher caste. Foster-children may be taken for various reasons — nowadays at least. Since slavery does not exist any longer, foster-daughters not unfrequently replace female slaves. In particular girls of former slave- or Atan-families are often taken as foster-daughters by people of higher caste. There may have existed in former times a kind of feudal relation between two lineages, of which this type of fosterage is one of the last traces. But the majority of foster-children belong to the same caste as their foster-parents. In Warat 15 of the 19 foster-children are socially equal to their foster-parents, viz. 4 Marna (W 7, 8, 165, 294), 4 Wuhru (229, 230, 345, 348) and 7 Atan (W 47, 48, 52, 90, 93, 144, 149). There are 4 of lower caste, girls all of them, viz. W 166 (Atan, foster-mother Marna), W 196 (Wuhru, foster-parents Marna), W 286 (Atan, foster-parents Marna), W 292 (Atan, foster-parents Marna). In Timur 4 foster-children are not below their foster-parents in caste, viz. T 10, 37, 39, 40 (Wuhru II all of them). There are 3 of lower caste, 2 girls and 1 boy, viz. T 136 (Wuhru, foster-parents Marna), T 163 (Atan, foster-parents Marna), and T 217 (Wuhru II, foster-parents Marna). About the caste of the remaining 21 foster-children of Timur we have no information.

Marriage is, generally speaking, patrilocal, but members of one family may be living together or apart in different ways for economic or other reasons. Old people or unmarried but marriageable men and women may be living with married sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, as the case may be. In the grandparents' column have also been registered their solitary unmarried or widowed brothers and sisters who are living in the same household. Unfortunately the informants often were not quite sure about the exact family relations of the older members of a household and there was no time to make special inquiries in many houses.

**Proper names  
of individuals**

The alphabetical list mentions all proper names that actually were in use in January 1934. No doubt the number of names that are known and that may be used at any time is considerably larger, but we made no attempt to register those names too.

It will be noticed that a number of names are preceded by initials. The latter indicate European or biblical names functioning as first names with a native name as family-name. Their owners are Christians or have been baptized at least. It goes without saying that the whole native naming-system is unsettled by this invasion of foreign names, applied, moreover,

without any notion of native ideas about names in connection with the social system, and, consequently, without consistency from a native point of view. When a newly-born child of a Christian father is baptized, the matter is easy: the child is usually given the family-name of its father with one or more first names. That family-name may be the father's native name (when a grown-up man is baptized, it is not so easy to abolish his native name, so he often keeps it as a family name) or it may be the paternal grandfather's native name. It may also be still another name for the father may have been baptized when he was a boy and his non-Christian parents may have chosen a new name for him. Finally, girls in different instances appear to have been given female names as family names. So we never know where we are with these europeanized names. In some islands the mission uses clan-names as family-names and the people who are baptized or, when they are children, their parents are free to make a choice between the clans represented in the family.

The names with initials may be divided into 2 groups: those that occur also without initials and those that do not. The latter group comprises 62 names; 39 of them being used as men's names, 12 as women's names, and 4 as names of members of both sexes. Again, the 39 names used for men may be subdivided as follows: 1. 19 names that are real men's names, as a comparative study of all the names shows, viz. Harakati, Haratilu, Horsair, Horu, Latukou, Latupaira, Lewenmali, Lonmaaduka, Ma'ukati, Ratuhalat, Ratuhanrasa, Ratuhurai, Ratukai, Ratumimhain, Ratusurwei, Ratuwasair, Resihieni, Resilawanira, Risanasu; 2. 18 names of which it seems uncertain whether they are men's or women's names originally, viz. Dalkati, Horia, Katihara, Keiara, Keiwadua, Loira, Malara, Mamanada, Namjene, Nairail, Sarlor, Selkati, Tetidail, Tilukai, Tuhain, Wedilen, Wuinoto, Wurlete; 3. 1 derived name, viz. Latukoutu (from Latukou); 4. 1 original woman's name, viz. Dailewen. The 12 names for women are to be divided into: 1. 8 original women's names, viz. Huilai, Huitomleli, Keilewen, Kodilewen, La'udin'kene, Meheloi, Mim(i)sima, Watadihi; 2. 2 uncertain names, viz. Silila, Tamindail; 3. 1 derived name, viz. Latukouta (from Latukou); 4. 1 original man's name, viz. Maanai. The 11 names used for men and women comprise: 1. 9 original men's names, viz. Anthonie, Latuminase, Latusuai, Lewedalu, Ratuha, Ratuluhain, Ratumali, Resima'u, Ser(e)halai; 2. 1 uncertain name, viz. Welminasin: this is of course derived from Welmina (Hollandish Wilhelmina), but the meaning of the ending *-sin* (or *-asin*?) is not clear; 3. 1 original woman's name, viz. La'udiun. The group of names that occur both with and without initials is much smaller: 40, viz. 28 real men's names and 12 genuine women's names. When used with initials, 19 of these men's names are used for men, viz. Lartelu, Liurira, Loihali, Lookata, Maadai, Maamali, Makaweru, Maroko, Ma'usara, Mesiwar, Nasmaa, Ratulewen, Ratulonira, Raturesi, Resiara, Resiwainlawan, Sokolai, Wainlawan, Welka'ur; 2 of the men's names are used for women, viz. Kamanasa and Maawarin; and 7 are used for men

and for women, viz. Lewensara, Londin'kene, Ratuhunlori, Ratumurun, Sarik, Serain, Tepmaha. The 12 women's names, both with and without initials, are exclusively used for women; they are: Huimodo, Kulsoo, La'uhitin, La'ukeiara, La'ukiki, Lel(i)herlook, Lel(i)nori, Lel(i)soo, Lel(i)sooma'ulesi, Lulhili, Lulwai, Mim(i)horu.

Thus we find that among the 102 names with initials there are: 38 genuine men's names, as family names used for men only; 16 genuine men's names, as family names used for men and for women; 3 genuine men's names, as family names used for women only; 20 genuine women's names, as family names used for women only; 1 genuine woman's name, as a family name used for a man only; 1 genuine woman's name, as a family name used for men and for women; 18 uncertain names, used as family names for men; 1 uncertain name, used as a family name for men and for women; 2 uncertain names, used as family names for women; 2 names derived from a man's name, one used as a family name for men and one as a family name for women. We notice that women's names with initials are almost exclusively used as family names for women, whereas men's names with initials are not only used for men, but also for both men and women. Therefore we may safely assume that most of the uncertain names used as family names for men or for both sexes are likewise genuine men's names. If we leave them for the present out of consideration, however, we find that of the remaining 619 names of the alphabetical list 326 are men's and 293 are women's names, whereas, as we have seen, the population numbers 530 males and 698 females; in other words the female names are, relatively as well as absolutely, far in the minority. The greater diversity of men's names is striking indeed: not less than 241 out of the 326 men's names occur only once, against 154 out of the 293 women's names. The introduction of family and Christian names will, in the long run, certainly make away with the distinction of male and female native names. The fact that a native name is also used as a family name for men and for women, is apt to neutralize it, to unsex it, so to say. This is probably the reason why so many of these names are not used as genuine native names any more, but have become Christian family names. However this may be, the distinction is still rigorous for all names that have not yet become denaturalized by means of the addition of first names; they are either exclusively male or exclusively female and nobody is ever in doubt about their being the one or the other. The male or female character of a name is often determined by its initial element. There are very few names beginning with a vowel: those beginning with *a-* or *i-* are male and those beginning with *o-* or *u-* are female. There are no names beginning with *e-*; this vowel, as initial sound, does not frequently occur altogether. The sex-determining initial elements, recognizable as such, are the following (to each element is added the number of names in which it occurs): a. Males: *Asa-* (5), *Latu-* (6), *Lawan-* (4), *Lewe-* (6), *Lewen-* (3), *Liur-* (9), *Lon-* (11), *Lor-* (6), *Maa-* (7), *Malai-* (4), *Ma'u-* (10).



*Ratu-* (46), *Resi-* (22), *Sere-* (7), *Soo* (5), *Sor-* (7); b. Females: *De-* (7), *Hua-* (16), *Hui-* (23), *Jahu-* (7), *La'u-* (23), *Leli-* (43), *Mimi-* (15), *Suri-* (25), *Una-* (8), *Wata-* (21). We notice that only 4 out of 15 male initial elements (*Latu* = *Ratu-*), but not less than 7 out of 11 female elements occur in more than 10 names. Of course the frequency of the commonest individual names too is much greater among the female than among the male names. Moreover, we find that, with one exception, all male names occurring 5 or more than 5 times have partly or wholly become Christian family names, viz. Horu, Latuminase, Latusuai, Lewedalu, Lewenmali, Liurira, Londin'kene, Ratuhanrasa, Ratuhunlori, Ratuleka, Ratumurun, Resima'u, Serain, Sarik; and to this circumstance they largely owe their frequency. Yet none of them occurs oftener than 11 times (Ratuhunlori). The one exception is Raturomon, which is not used as a family name, and which occurs 5 times. With the female names occurring 5 or more than 5 times it is entirely different. They are 30 in number; 5 of these are also used as family names, viz. La'uhitin (28), Leliherlook (5), Lelinori (8), Leliso (13), Lulwai (7); the others are: Huakati (5), Huanai (5), Huilatu (5), Jahudin'kene (5), Kahawono (8), Kasameen (5), Kulsoo (7), La'uhalin (5), Lelihaira (7), Leliresiara (7), Lursalu (5), Mimilai (5), Okhari (7), Rarjoho (7), Romkasi (8), Suridin'kene (8), Surilana (5), Surileka (8), Surileli (7), Tahotali (8), Watahunlori (12), Watakoun (7), Watamaa (6), Watasoo (9), Welka'ur (5).

The greater variety of male names, the circumstance that so many, in particular male names occur once only, and the existence of a few initial elements of names of either sex whose frequency of use is striking indeed, these facts may be taken as indications that the diversity of both initial elements and individual names has formerly been less than it is at present. There are still communities in this part of Indonesia, e.g. the village of Erai in the West of Wetar, where only two initial elements of proper names are in use, one for males and one for females. It might be presumed that there has been a time when in Oirata likewise all or most male names began with *Ratu-* or *Resi-*, and all female names with *Leli-*, *Hui-*, *La'u-*, *Suri-* and perhaps a few other initial elements. Although it cannot be proved, of course, it seems quite probable that the development of the naming-system in later times was characterized by an increasing diversity of men's names particularly. This process may have been set going or at least promoted by the introduction of foreign and new names under European influence. European names were evidently nationalized: their elements were identified with native words and formantia and this must have given rise to new combinations and, consequently, to new names. Probably there are quite a number of foreign names, although we are seldom able to recognize them with certainty at present. The European origin of the names Anthonie and Pa'ulina hardly seems open to doubt. *Pa'u*, however, is an Oirata word and also occurs in the clan-name Pa'umodo, and *-lina* is found in the proper names Ratulina, Watalina,

Wurlina. So Pa'ulina might be a native name after all. The names Alkasa and Almahan may be of Portuguese origin (*alçar* and *alma*), and Alsudai may be a formation by analogy. The names Aser and A'umanjora also look suspect, but their component parts are not necessarily foreign. The element *-iklai-* in Iklaihara and Iklairea might be a variant of *ikrei* (Portuguese *igreja*, church); at present, however, it is certainly not felt as a foreign word and it is also common as a final element, cp. Dariklai, Huihariklai, Kuliklai, Leliklai, Wuniklai. Another suspect case is the trio Latukou — Latukoutu (son of Latukou) — Latukouta (daughter of Latukou). The element *-ta* as an ending of names occurs only in *-ata* (Dahiata, Haluata, Ma'uata a.o.). *Tu* is also represented in the name Saptu, which to all probability is a foreign word, viz. Portuguese *sapatu* (shoe), which may or may not have been introduced via Malay *sapatu*. The use of suffixes *-tu* and *-ta* to denote male and female children is quite unusual in Oirata; so it is hardly to be doubted that *-tu* (*-to*) and *-ta* are of Portuguese origin. As to Welminasin it may be remarked that this word might be composed of native elements: *Wel-* is also found in Welka'ur and *-minase* is met with in Latuminase (cp. also Mimiasi, Liurtawanasin, Tawanasin, Rataasin). If it is a derivation of Welmina for Holland. Wilhelmina, *wel-* and *-mina-* might in this way have become formative elements. There are several names or parts of names that are homonymous, or almost so, with Portuguese words, but they do not show anything that may with certainty be set down as incompatible with the Oirata phonetic system, and we are not sufficiently familiar with either the Oirata idiom or Oirata etymology to be able to recognize foreign intruders even when they sound native.

Some initial elements are used in names of both men and women; such are e.g. *Dai-*, *Kei-*, *Kiki-*, *Lar-*. There may be many more of such neutral elements, but it is not possible to discover them owing to the very large number of names that occur only once. As the most common initial elements are clearly either male or female, it seems the more probable that we are right in supposing that the introduction and formation of new names were attended with a weakening of the tradition that either sex should have its own set of names, characterized by certain initial elements.

In contradistinction to the initial elements, the endings or final elements are neutral as to sex. Their total number amounts to  $\pm 300$ , whereas the number of initial elements does not exceed  $\pm 180$ . Especially the former number, however, is considerably reduced, when the compound endings whose constituent parts themselves function as endings or formative elements, are not included and when, moreover, the cases of divergence in form through consonantic change are also taken into consideration. To a somewhat lesser degree this is also true of the initial elements. A few examples may suffice to illustrate either case; for further information regarding consonantic change and questions of spelling we may refer to the section on phonetics. There are several names ending in *-resiara*, viz.



Dairesiara, Keiresiara, La'uresiara, Lawanresiara, Leliresiara, Liuresiara, Raturesiara, Suriresiara, Wataresiara. Resiara itself is composed of *resi* and *ara*, the former of which also functions as initial element. Further *resi* has a variant in *lesi*, which is used as ending in Ma'ulesi, and is also represented in *-lesen* (Rakulesen; many vocalic endings occur with and without final *-n*). So the five endings *-resi*, *-ara*, *-resiara*, *-lesi*, *-lesen*, may be reduced to two: *-resi* and *-ara*. If *-ara*, *-ata*, and *-ada* are variants of the same element, which is not improbable, these 3 too are reduced to 1. The lineage-name Nun'kokara, which is also used as final part of proper names, is composed of the elements *nunu* (probably = *nono* in Dihinono), *kou* (in Huakou, Latukou, Sairkou) and *kara* (in Lelikara, Ratukara), which is really the same element as *kata* (in Lookata). The initial elements *lar-*, *lal-*, *rar-* are really one (Larwilan = Lalwilan = Rarwilan; Lartelu = Raratelu etc.) and have another variant in *-dara-*, which is functioning as initial part and as ending, cp. Daramrai (= Daramalai), Ladara, Saldara. When we analyse all the initial and final parts of names in this manner, we find that the number of 300 endings may be reduced to about 225. The percentage of initial elements that may be excluded because they are derivatives or variants is of course considerably less since real compounds have not been included in their list to begin with.

There are 65 elements that are used both as initial parts and as endings, viz. *dai* (*lai*, *rai*), *dail*, *dara*, *dihi*, *duka* (*ruk*), *hain* (*pai*, *sai*), *haira* (*sair*), *hara*, *horu* (*sor*), *huan*, *hunu*, *iklai*, *ili*, *kai*, *kara*, *kasa*, *kati*, *kei*, *kere*, *kiki*, *koli* (*kodi*), *koro* (*kor*), *laka*, *lari*, *laru*, *latu* (*ratu*), *la'un*, *lawan*, *leki*, *leli*, *lere*, *lesi* (*resi*), *lewen*, *liha*, *lila*, *lina*, *liu*, *liur*, *loho*, *loi*, *lono* (*lon*), *loro* (*lor*), *luan* (*lua*), *maa*, *malai*, *ma'u*, *muta*, *nai*, *nami*, *nari*, (*nar*), *rei*, *risan*, *romon* (*romo*), *ruhi*, *salu* (*sal*), *sere* (*ser*), *simi* (*sim*), *siwi*, *soo*, *suri* (*sur*), *telu*, *wadu*, *wain*, *war*. When we inquire into the frequency of use of any of these elements as initial and as final part of names, we find that most of them are either uncommon altogether or quite common in only one of the two qualities and uncommon in the other. This conclusion is confirmed when we also make use of the lists of the most common elements (initial ones and final ones) separately. The initial elements occurring in 10 or more than 10 names are: *lon-* (11), *ma'u-* (10), *ratu-* (46), *resi-* (22), *hua-* (16), *hui-* (23), *la'u-* (23), *leli-* (43), *mimi-* (15), *suri-* (25), *wata-* (21). The final elements represented in 10 or more than 10 names are: *-ara* (35), *-ira* (12), *-lewen* (14), *-maa* (12), *-malai* (25), *-ma'u* (12). The element *lon* is functioning as ending in 3 names (Lelilon, Lorilon, Perelon); *ma'u* has that function in 12 names (Hairma'u, Huima'u, Kodima'u, Lahanma'u, Larma'u, La'uma'u, Maama'u, Mimima'u, Resima'u, Unama'u, Warmma'u, Witama'u); *ratu* (= *latu*) in 6 names (Leweratu, Resiratu, Sooratu, Huilatu, Lailatu, Lelilatu); *resi* (= *lesi*) in 5 names (Ma'uresi, Raturesi, Romtaresi, Ma'ulesi, Rakulesen); *hua* (only in the form *huan*) in 1 name (Kulhuan); *hui* in no name; *la'u* (only in the form *la'un*) in 1 name (Larla'un); *leli* in 7 names (Huileli, Morleli, Rarleli, Surileli,

Unaleli, Huitomleli, La'utomleli); *mimi* in no name; *suri* in 2 names (Lul-suri, Unasuri); *wata* in no name. The element *ara* is not used in any name as initial element; *ira* likewise; *lewen* is functioning as initial element in 3 names (Lewenhara, Lewenmali, Lewensara, which are really 2 as Lewenhara and Lewensara are 1); *maa* in 7 names (Maadai, Maalekra'u, Maamali, Maama'u, Maanai, Maatelu, Maawarin); *malai* in 4 names (Malai-keri, Malailaru, Malaimuta, Malaitaraleu); *ma'u* in 12 names (Ma'uata, Ma'uhanrasa, Ma'ukati, Ma'ukoho, Ma'ulene, Ma'uloi, Ma'unaha, Ma'uresi, Ma'usara, Ma'useilewen, Ma'uteri, Ma'utwala).

It is quite evident that the indiscriminate use of the same elements as initial parts and as endings cannot be an ancient characteristic of the naming-system and that, in this respect too, the female names have less been affected by the new fashion than the male names. The initial female elements under consideration, when functioning as endings, are only combined with female or neutral initial components, so that they form female names exclusively, whereas the male initial elements in their function as endings are combined with both male and female initial components, so that they form names of either sex. Of course the possibility that there have always existed elements that were neutral as to sex or usable in a final as well as in an initial position, or both, cannot be simply rejected. We can only state that it is characteristic of this naming-system to indicate sex by means of the initial elements and to use by preference not the same elements as initial and as final components of names. And it is rather obvious that these characteristics are not modern but archaic. In a few cases one might doubt whether a certain element was originally initial or final. The most striking example is the element *-ma'u-*, which occurs 12 times in either function. If this element were neutral as to sex in the initial position, there would not be any indication as to its original function, but since it is obviously male, it is no doubt more probable that it has been initial to begin with than that it has been an ending of old.

When we study the names with a view to their distribution over the different clans and lineages, we find that, in a general way, there does exist some connection between certain names and families whose householders belong to definite clans or lineages. This result sounds vague and unsatisfactory, but our data do not enable us to formulate the character of this connection more precisely. Even if we knew the clan and lineage of each separate inhabitant, we should perhaps not be able to lay open this side of the naming-system, seeing that the clan- and lineage-organisation has lost already much of its rigour. As it is, our evidence is too scanty altogether. One single example may suffice to demonstrate the impossibility to reconstruct the naming-system by means of the existing clan-grouping and vice versa.

There are 2 householders Ma'uata (T 681 and T 736). T 681 belongs to Nana'uru (Selewaku). His caste is Wuhru II. Wife: Surlana; son: Ratu-hunlori; parents: Rikeren and Telpai; sisters: Daimaha, Surlana, and Lelhunu.

T 736 belongs to Waruara (Selewaku). Caste: Wuhru II. Wives: Dahiata and Jahumaa; son: Lorsuai; daughters: Lelhunu and Surlana. When we inquire further into the distribution of these names, the result is as follows.

Surlana T 23, daughter of Hunuljono, householder, Loslapai (Hunlori), Wuhru II.

Surlana T 605, daughter of Risantelu, householder, Waruara (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

Ratuhunlori T 1, householder, La'ule II (Hunlori), Marna.

Ratuhunlori T 3, 4, daughter and son of T 1.

Ratuhunlori T 24, son of Hunuljono, householder, Loslapai (Hunlori), Wuhru II.

Ratuhunlori T 64, son of Loimaa, householder, La'ule I (Hunlori), Marna.

Ratuhunlori T 96, son of J. Ratusurwei, householder, Loslapai (Hunlori), Wuhru II.

Ratuhunlori T 106, son of Mutasere, householder, La'ule II (Hunlori), Marna.

Ratuhunlori T 124, daughter of Iklaira, householder, Horwata (Hunlori), Wuhru.

Ratuhunlori W 279, householder, Hujeni (Asatupa), Marna.

The names Rikeren and Telpai are not used anywhere else.

Daimaha T 36, mother of H. Latuminase, householder, lineage and clan not registered, but most probably Loslapai (Hunlori), Wuhru II.

Daimaha T 591, sister of Telumaa, householder, Nana'uru (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

Daimaha T 650, daughter of Ch. Raturesi, householder, Leka (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

Lelhunu T 275, wife of Tepmaha, householder, Tawanasin (Hanoo), Wuhru II.

Dahiata T 42, wife of Permalai, householder, Loslapai (Hunlori), Wuhru II.

Dahiata T 584, wife of Telumaa, householder, Nana'uru (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

Dahiata T 647, daughter of Kaihili, householder, Dailorluun (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

Jahumaa T 367, wife of L. Ratuhalat, householder, Samodo (Hanoo), Wuhru II.

Jahumaa T 744, daughter of L. Latusuai, householder, Leka (Selewaku), Wuhru II.

The name Lorsuai does not occur anywhere else.

Looking over this list, we find that both households -Mau'ata are through the names of their members connected with the clans Hanoo and Hunlori and that the latter is in the same way connected with Asatupa, as is confirmed by the fact that also the names La'uhunlori and Watahunlori are

nowhere found outside Hunlori but in Asatupa-households (W 230 and W 188). This state of affairs might suggest the existence of more or less regular connubial relations between the clans Selewaku, Hanoo, Hunlori, and Asatupa. This might seem the more probable because we are able to adduce more evidence pointing in the same direction. When we investigate, for example, the names in the families of the 2 householders Ratusuai (T 690 and T 703) of Selewaku, we likewise find that all these names, so far as they occur outside the two households concerned, are found in families of householders belonging to Selewaku, Hanoo and Hunlori. There is not the slightest indication, however, as to *how* these clans are connected, and *how* the connubial relations express themselves in the preference for certain names in certain families. When a man's mother, wife, daughter and sister have the same name and when, besides, this name is found in families belonging to 3 different clans, the conceivable explanations of the underlying system would be numerous and widely different even if that system were applied with rigorous consistency. But since it is quite sure that the latter condition is not fulfilled, any attempt at reconstructing would be mere guesswork.

## II

### POPULATION REGISTER

(× means men; — means women; numbers in heavy type indicate houses)

#### A. Population of Oirata Timur in January 1934

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
<b>1</b>									
1	E. Ratuhunlori	×					La'ule II	Hunlori	Marna
2	S. Keilewen	—							"
3	S. Ratuhunlori								"
4	Ratuhunlori		×						"
<b>2</b>									
5	R. Latuminase	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
6	D. Latusuai	—							"
7	Lorsiwi		×						"
8	Kaisuhene					×			"
9	La'uma'u					—			"
10	Kornapi			×					"
11	Watahunlori		—						"
<b>3</b>									
12	Malailaru	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna
13	Watasoo	—							
14	Huilatu		—						
15	S. Lewensara		—						
16	Lel(i)latu		—						
17	Huanai				—				
18	L. Maawarin		—						
<b>4</b>									
19	Hunuljono	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
20	Laltuda	—							"
21	Okhari		—						"
22	Rarjana		—						"
23	Surlana		—						"
24	Ratuhunlori		×						"
<b>5</b>									
25	H. Ratusurwei	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
26	Mim(i)horu	—							
27	L. La'uhitin		—						
<b>6</b>									
28	Th. Latuminase	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
29	D. Okhari	—							"
30	W. Latuminase		×						"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster- children	Broth. and sisters	Grand- parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
31	J. Latuminase		×						Wuhru II
32	K. Latuminase		—						"
33	R. Latuminase		—						"
34	H. Latuminase	×							"
35	Ser(e)nari					×			"
36	Daimaha					—			"
37	Sur(i)lono			—					"
38	Kasameen				—				"
39	Romkasi			—					"
40	M. Latuminase			×					"
7									
41	Permalai	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
42	Dahiata	—							"
8									
43	Raihunu	×					La'ule II	Hunlori	Marna
44	La'uma'u	—							Wuhru
45	Rarwilan		—						Wuhru
46	H. Latusuai		×						Wuhru
9									
47	Ratuhorwata	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
48	Huatilu	—							
10									
49	Liurseumaa	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
50	Watahunlori		—						
51	Ratuseiara		×						
11									
52	Ratupaira	×					Laimodo	Hunlori	Wuhru
53	Huimuta	—							
54	Watahunlori		—						
55	Waduiljono		×						
12									
56	Kornapi	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
57	Rarwilan	—							
58	Okhari				—				
59	R. Latuminase				—				
60	Watahunlori		—						
13									
61	Loimaa	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna
62	Hujain	—							"
63	Sur(i)lono		—						"
64	Ratuhunlori		×						"
65	Lulwai					—			"
66	Watasoo				—				"
67	M. Maanai		—						"
68	Ratuhunlori		×						"
14									
69	Nun'kou	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna
70	Rikamaha	—							"
71	Rikarei		—						"
72	Huanai				—				"



Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster- children	Broth. and sisters	Grand- parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
73	Liurhunlori		×						Marna
15									
74	R. Ser(e)halai	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
75	S. Ser(e)halai				—				
76	M. Ser(e)halai		—						
77	J. Ser(e)halai —								
16									
78	P. Latuminase	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
79	Lelsiwi	—							
80	Rarjoho —								
81	Reiara		×						
82	Watahunlori		—						
83	La'uma'u —								
17									
84	Heremoto	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
85	Lurliha	—							
86	Suridin'kene		—						
18									
87	Lelhodo	×					Laimodo	Hunlori	Wuhru
88	Kiksoru	—							
89	Heremoto		—						
19									
90	Ratusihil	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
20									
91	Ratukara	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
92	Lalhunu	—							
93	Resima'uteri		×						
21									
94	J. Ratusurwei	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
95	M. La'ukeiara	—							
96	Ratuhunlori		×						
97	La'uhitin		—						
98	Huiha'u				—				
99	Watahunlori				—				
100	Kahawono					—			
22									
101	Mutasere	×					La'ule II	Hunlori	Marna
102	Surhaira	—							"
103	Watahunlori		—						"
104	Larnai					×			"
105	Huawaru				—				"
106	Ratuhunlori		×						"
23									
107	Rakurai	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna
108	Watakoun	—							"
109	Watahunlori		—						"
110	Surleli		—						"
111	Watahunlori		—						"
24									
112	Warmalai	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
113	La'ukiki	—							Marna
114	Serain		×						"
115	Loimaa		×						"
25									
116	Ratuhunu	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
26									
117	Mesiwar	×					Loslapai	Hunlori	Wuhru II
27									
118	Watalono	—					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
119	Lewelaka		×						
28									
120	Iklaira	×					Horwata	Hunlori	Wuhru
121	Huseumaha	—							
122	Mimma'u		×						
123	Lahankati		×						
124	Ratuhunlori		—						
29									
125	J. Lewensara	×					La'ule I	Hunlori	Marna
126	Kasarai	—							
30									
127	M. Dalkati	×					Wakurou	Pa'umodo	Marna
128	J. Horu	—							"
129	J. Malara		×						"
130	Wonata		×						"
131	Resikelja'u		×						"
132	Watakoun					—			"
133	Lokomalai				—				"
134	Unamrou				—				"
135	Asamalai				×				"
136	Surwuimaha			—					Wuhru
31									
137	R. Maadai	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
138	Lelresiarra	—							
139	Humasa	—							
140	Jahunoko				—				
141	M. Lelnori				—				
142	La'uhalin			—					
143	Lelkelja'u			—					
144	Sorkelja'u					×			
32									
145	W. Anthonie	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
146	La'uhitin	—							
147	Surikelja'u		—						
148	Kikihara		×						
149	Lel(i)kelja'u		—						
33									
150	Sorwodo	×					?	Pa'umodo	Atan
151	La'ukelja'u	—							
152	Unaleli		—						
153	Lelma'uasa	—							

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
154	Suresiara		-						
34									
155	Malaitaraleu	×					Leultua	Pa'umodo	Marna
156	Huarusu	-					Wakurou	"	"
157	Lelhaira		-				"	"	"
158	Malaimuta		×				"	"	"
159	Reskelja'u		×				"	"	"
160	Serenmalai		×				"	"	"
161	Lelhili				-		Leultua	"	"
162	La'umasa		-				"	"	
163	Lelsorwodo			-			"	"	Atan
35									
164	Leweratu	×					Lewedalu	Pa'umodo	Marna
165	Lelilwaru	-							
166	Maawarin		×						
167	Hujain		-						
168	Wurlina		-						
36									
169	Nasmaa	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
170	Lelnori	-							
171	Huitana		-						
172	Serekelja'u		×						
37									
173	Resikahil	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
174	Jahunoko	-							
175	Tahotali		-						
176	Lihasa		-						
177	La'uhitin		-						
178	Kulsoo					-			
179	Suri		-						
180	Solemede		×						
38									
181	Rakulesen	×					?	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
182	Ruhiata	×							
183	La'uhalin	-							
184	Lelherlook		-						
185	Surimiaha		-						
186	Ratulewen		×						
187	La'ukelja'u		-						
188	M. Huilai		-						
189	Loisoo					×			
39									
190	J. Lewedalu	×					Lewedalu	Pa'umodo	Marna
191	E. Tamindail	-							
192	W. Lewedalu		-						
193	Ch. Lewedalu		×						
194	M. Lewedalu		×						
195	Hurnaha			-					
196	Lelsoo			-					
197	Surkelja'u			-					

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
40									
198	Lonmalai	×					Maleten	Pa'umodo	Wuhru
199	Lordin'kene	—							
200	Lorkelja'u		×						
201	Sorlono					×			
202	Surmara					—			
203	Huisina				—				
204	Lursalu				—				
205	Kelja'u				×				
41									
206	Sorpara	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
207	Leliliur				—				
208	Lelnori				—				
209	Solemede		×						
42									
210	E. Lewedalu	×					Lewedalu	Pa'umodo	Marna
211	La'utomleli	—							
212	Kerewahin		×						
213	Miminalai					—			
214	H. Lewedalu				—				
215	Lewesurimasa					×			
216	Watakoun					—			
217	Reimalai			×					Wuhru II
43									
218	Resimalai	×					Lewedalu	Pa'umodo	Marna
44									
219	Sornami	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
220	Lelsoo	—							
221	Liursamodo		×						
45									
222	Ratukelja'u	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
223	Lelsoo	—							
224	Liurmalai		×						
46									
225	Ratulewen	×					Lelapai	Pa'umodo	Wuhru II
226	Kikihara					×			
227	Kulsoo				—				
228	La'ukelja'u				—				
47									
229	R. Z. Serain	×					Soo	Hanoo	Marna
230	D. Wuinoto	—							
231	Ch. Serain		×						
232	H. Serain		—						
233	M. Serain		—						
234	Ratumara		×						
48									
235	Wewedama	×					Wakulono	Hanoo	Wuhru
236	Romtaresi	—							
49									
237	Ratuhaisa'u	×					Haisa'u	Hanoo	Marna

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
238	Unasuri	—							
239	Mimimalai		—						
240	Lelilatu		—						
241	Horara		×						
242	Ma'ukoho		×						
243	Kikiromo		×						
50									
244	J. Horia	×					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
245	Watalai	—							
246	H. Lelsoo		—						
247	Huiloi		—						
248	Lekusana		×						
249	Ladara		—						
51									
250	Dariklai	×					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
251	Lelsoo	—							
252	Lek(u)sana		×						
253	La'uhitin		—						
254	Solemede		×						
52									
255	Larmuta	×					Liuloro	Hanoo	Marna
256	Sehula	—							
257	Watakoun				—				
258	Watahunlori		—						
259	Surleli		—						
260	Suriliuloro					—			
261	La'uhitin		—						
53									
262	Jekai	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
263	Lilarai	—							
264	Risanmalai		×						
265	Pa'ulina		—						
266	Leliresiara		—						
267	Daimalai		×						
54									
268	Per(e)malai	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
269	Pajalono	—							
270	Namidailite		×						
271	Ratudailite		×						
272	Lelidailite		—						
273	Raturomon		×						
55									
274	Tepmaha	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
275	Leihunu	—							
276	La'uhitin			—					
277	Horhai					×			
278	Larla'un					—			
56									
279	Wusrulu	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
280	Ratusooma'ulesi					×			

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
57									
281	D. Sarik	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
282	La'usooma'ulesi					—			
283	Mimilai				×				
284	Lesi				—				
285	Lesi				—				
58									
286	Soomatur	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
287	Witamoni	—							
288	Huarusu		—						
289	Watasoo		—						
59									
290	Asamali	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
291	S. Ratumali		—						
292	Soomali		×						
60									
293	Kikilili	×					Soo	Hanoo	Marna
294	Huirisan	—							
295	Warma'u		×						
296	Lelkuan		—						
297	Huakou		—						
298	Watamaa			—					
299	Watasulai				—				
300	Surleli				—				
301	Liurira		×						
302	Ma'utwala		×						
61									
303	Ratunelira	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
304	Hopmaa	—							
305	Leliairetara		—						
306	Raturomon		×						
62									
307	Risanmalai	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
63									
308	Lekiruhi	×					Wakulono	Hanoo	Wuhru
309	Lelilwali	—							
310	Lalsehula		—						
311	Mimimuta		—						
312	Jahunari		—						
313	Lelhair		—						
314	Surileseli		—						
64									
315	L. Liurira	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
316	La'uhitin	—							
317	Liurtawanasin		×						
318	Ratumara		×						
319	Kasameen					—			
320	Dahiata					—			
321	Lalleki				—				

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster- children	Broth. and sisters	Grand- parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
<b>65</b>									
322	W. Wurlete	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
323	Okhari	—							
324	Rarjoho	—							
325	Watasoo			×					
326	Telaku			×					
327	Ma'unaha					×			
328	Okhari					—			
329	La'uhitin		—						
330	Kahawono		—						
331	Surileka		—						
332	Ratumara		×						
<b>66</b>									
333	C. Horsair	×					Huilono	Hanoo	Wuhru
334	Lursalu	—							
335	Lawanira			×					
336	Ratuhuriara		×						
337	Suri		—						
338	Sairara	×							
339	Deruk	—							
340	Jahusina					—			
341	La'uhitin			—					
<b>67</b>									
342	Z. Anthonie	×					Airetara	Hanoo	Wuhru II
343	W. Anthonie	—							
344	W. Anthonie		—						
<b>68</b>									
345	R. Ratuwasair	×					Semule	Hanoo	Wuhru II
346	La'umurun	—							
347	J. Kamanasa		—						
348	Welka'ur		×						
349	Liurira		×						
350	Watamaa		—						
<b>70</b>									
351	M. Sarik	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
352	S. La'uhitin	—							
353	M. Leliherlook		—						
354	H. Lelsooma'ulesi		—						
355	La'usooma'ulesi		—						
356	La'ukana		—						
357	La'uhitin					—			
358	Nasumaa					×			
<b>71</b>									
359	M. Lewensara	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
360	Huatalu					×			
361	Sorlewen		×						
<b>72</b>									
362	Sortelu	×					Seli	Hanoo	Wuhru
363	Dihinono	—							
364	Mimima'u		—						



Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
365 73	Huatelu								
366	L. Ratuhalat	×					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
367	Jahumaa	—							
368	Ma'uteri		×						
369	Asahara		×						
370	Welka'ur		×						
74									
371	Asalai	×					Wasair	Hanoo	Marna
372	Huanai	—							
373	Hujono		—						
374	Kajamoko			—					
375	Lailere		×						
75									
376	S. Maroko	×					Ili	Hanoo	Wuhru II
377	Lelidiun	—							
378	Asahara		×						
379	Lelnori		—						
380	Kelwaru		×						
76									
381	A. Lewenmali	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
382	Huimodo	—							
383	Rarleli					—			
384	Watas(u)lai			—					
77									
385	Horlekra'u	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
386	Kulhuan	—							
78									
387	H. Serain	×					Soo	Hanoo	Marna
388	La'uhejeni	—							
389	Huima'u		—						
390	Unamrou		—						
79									
391	Serelai	×					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
392	Lelnori	—							
393	Lekimaa		×						
394	Unama'u		—						
395	Simpoi		×						
80									
396	Ma'usara	×					?	?	?
397	Lelisoo	—							
398	La'uhitin		—						
399	Asahara		×						
81									
400	J. Serain	×					Leka	Hanoo	Marna
82									
401	Lekimaa	×					Airetara	Hanoo	Wuhru II
402	Suriteum	—							
403	Surileka		—						
404	La'uhitin		—						

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster- children	Broth. and sisters	Grand- parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
405 83	Huilo					—			
406	R. Namjene	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
407	Kasameen	—							
408	Ratuleka		×						
409	La'uhitin		—						
84									
410	Liurira	×					Leka	Hanoo	Marna
411	Huanai					—			
412	Rikarei	—							
413	Lulwai					—			
414	La'uhitin				—				
415	Ratuleka				×				
85									
416	Serehunu	×					Leka	Hanoo	Marna
417	Huakati	—							
418	Luliloho		×						
419	Kasara		—						
420	Ratuohalin		×						
86									
421	Telaku	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
422	Pa'ulina	—							
423	Ratulina		×						
424	Halkoro		×						
425	Raturomon		×						
426	Morleli					—			
87									
427	Liurira	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
88									
428	W. Sarik	×					Mahimahada	Hanoo	Wuhru II
429	Lelkara	—							
430	Kahawono		—						
89									
431	B. Lewenmali	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
432	E. Lewenmali	—							
433	M. Ratumali		—						
434	M. Ratumali		×						
90									
435	L. Lewenmali	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
436	La'ukeiara	—							
437	Kasinoi					×			
438	Mimiasi					—			
439	La'uherlook				—				
440	Soolaru		×						
441	Onasa					—			
442	Leliherlook		—						
91									
443	Ratuohalin	×					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
444	Watamaa	—							
445	Lelnori		—						

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
446	Lekusana		×						
447	Kainaku		×						
448	Naikomo				—				
92									
449	J. Welka'ur	×					Semule	Hanoo	Wuhru II
450	Watamaa	—							
451	Welka'ur		×						
452	Resiwasair		×						
453	Konowono		—						
454	Alsuadai		×						
455	La'uhitin		—						
456	Romkasi		—						
457	Maalekra'u					×			
93									
458	Halkoro	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
459	Lilarai	—							
460	Raturomon		×						
461	Keiromon		—						
462	Mormalai					—			
463	Watasoo				—				
464	Leremalai				×				
465	Railawan				×				
94									
466	S. Welminasin	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
467	M. Ratuluhain	—							
468	L. Welminasin		—						
469	A. Welminasin		×						
470	J. Welminasin		×						
471	C. Aser			×					
95									
472	P. Horsair	×					Sairara	Hanoo	Marna
473	Romara					×			
474	Watalout					—			
475	Ratuleka		×						
96									
476	Romkasi					—	Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
477	La'usooma'ulesi		—						
478	Huan'kai		—						
479	La'uhitin		—						
480	Herlook		×						
97									
481	Maroko	×					Ili	Hanoo	Wuhru II
482	La'uhherlook	—							
483	La'uhitin		—						
484	Nasuloi					×			
485	Tahotali					—			
486	Lelsoo				—				
98									
487	Herlewen	×				—	Soo	Hanoo	Marna
488	Mimilai								

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
99									
489	Tailmalai	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
490	Pajalawan	—							
491	Liurtaluara		×						
492	Derisan		—						
100									
493	Asamalai	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
101									
494	E. J. Latukou (alias Londin'kene)	×					Soo	Hanoo	Marna
495	L. La'udiun	—							
496	J. P. Latukoutu		×						
497	Surileli					—			
498	H. Latukouta				—				
499	M. Latukouta				—				
500	S. Latukouta		—						
102									
501	Liurira	×					Semule	Hanoo	Wuhru II
502	Kuliklai	—							
503	Ma'uresi					×			
504	Konowono				—				
505	Nasumaa		×						
506	La'uhitin		—						
507	Liurmara		×						
508	Suriwasair				—				
509	La'uhitin		—						
510	Ratuhalin		×						
511	Surileka		—						
512	Romkasi		—						
103									
513	J. Risanasu	×					Houmaa	Hanoo	Wuhru II
514	Lelimalai	—							
515	La'udai					—			
516	Lailere				×				
517	Daimalai		×						
518	Dairisan		×						
104									
519	Ma'unaha	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
105									
520	Herlook	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
106									
521	Leremalai	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
522	Depunu	—							
107									
523	Airete	×					Airetara	Hanoo	Wuhru II
108									
524	Haluata	×					Loslapai	Hanoo	Wuhru II
109									
525	H. Maroko	×					Ili	Hanoo	Wuhru II

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
110									
526	Liurira	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
527	Huimasa	—							
111									
528	L. Lewenmali	×					Sorlewen	Hanoo	Marna
112									
529	Sarik	×					Dadar	Hanoo	Wuhru II
113									
530	Lawanira	×					Semule	Hanoo	Wuhru II
114									
531	Welka'ur	×					?	Hanoo	Wuhru II
115									
532	S. Tepmaha	×					Tawanasin	Hanoo	Wuhru II
533	M. Ratumurun	—							
534	P. Tepmaha		×						
535	S. Tepmaha		—						
116									
536	Dohoru	—					Huilono	Hanoo	Wuhru
537	Lelihair		—						
117									
538	Surleli	—					Leka	Hanoo	Marna
539	Huileti		—						
540	Ratua'ua		×						
541	Lailuka				×				
118									
542	Mukatlaru	×					Leka	Hanoo	Marna
543	Witanai	—							
544	Kasara		—						
545	Surleka		—						
546	Lel(i)laru		—						
547	Ratuleka		×						
548	Lelisoo		—						
549	Watakoun		—						
119									
550	Witanai	—					Soo	Hanoo	Marna
551	Watasulai		—						
120									
552	Huilo	—					Samodo	Hanoo	Wuhru II
553	Huitana		—						
554	Lek(u)sana		×						
121									
555	Witama'u				—		Radi	Hanoo	Marna
556	Huilila				—				
557	La'uhitin				—				
558	Asahumaa				×				
559	Karara		×						
560	Liurira		×						
122									
561	Telaku	×					Houmaa	Hanoo	Wuhru II
562	Watasoo	—							

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
563	Lelimalai		—						
564	Lapandai		—						
123									
565	J. Horsair	×					?	?	?
124									
566	Ph. Ratukai	×					Asanapi a-raruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
567	C. Sarik	—							
568	Lahanma'u		—						
569	Kaimara					×			
125									
570	Teres	×					Resimere	Selewaku	Marna
571	Huakati	—							
572	Denloro		—						
573	Mutalapan		×						
126									
574	Mesiwar	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
575	Watahunlori	—							
576	Lelkamanasa		—						
577	Lelsiwi		—						
578	Lelsiwi		—		—				
579	Romkasi		—						
580	Surdila		—						
581	Lartelu		×						
582	Lelmaroko		—						
127									
583	Telumaa	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
584	Dahiata	—							
585	Okhari		—						
586	Herisan		×						
587	Resisuai		×						
588	Resimildai		×						
589	Ratusuai		×						
590	Rarjoho		—						
591	Daimaha				—				
128									
592	Lorkamanasa	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
129									
593	Wainlawan	×					Loira	Selewaku	Wuhru
594	Huasina	—							
595	Huihanrasa		—						
596	Dailaru		×						
597	Surdin'kene		—						
598	Makaweru		×						
599	Lelwainlawan		—						
130									
600	Risantelu	×					Waruara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
601	La'uhunlori	—							
602	Larwilan		—						
603	Raratelu		×						
604	Kahawono		—						

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
605	Surlana		—						
131									
606	J. Tuhain	×					Loira	Selewaku	Wuhru
607	M. Londin'kene	—							
608	C. M. Makaweru		×						
609	Unaloi		—						
610	Lelwainlawan		—						
611	Lahanma'u		—						
612	Unam(a)lai		—						
132									
613	Lehemaran	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
614	Huilele	—							
615	Res(i)maawidil		×						
616	Surleka		—						
617	Ratuleka		×						
618	Kasameen		—						
133									
619	Loilatu	×					La'ule (?)	Lelapai (?)	Marna
620	Rukmaha	—							
621	Rarsuri				—				
622	La'useiara		—						
623	Maama'u			×					
134									
624	Soolari	×					Etehitiara	Selewaku	Marna
625	Lellatu	—							
626	Rukmaha				—				
627	Rumlasoo		—						
628	Lonsutei			×					
629	Watalout			—					
135									
630	Res(i)maawidil	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
631	Surleka	—							
632	Romkasi		—						
633	Huilele		—						
634	Kahawono				—				
635	Surkasawla		×						
136									
636	Ratuleka	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
637	La'uhitin	—							
638	Watamoru		—						
639	Lesumalai		×						
640	Laltuda		—						
137									
641	Ratunun'kok(a)ara	×					Nun'kokara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
642	La'uerlook	—							
643	Res(i)maawidil		×						
644	Huilele		—						
138									
645	Kaihili	×					Dailorluun	Selewaku	Wuhru II
646	Kahawono	—							



Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster- children	Broth- and sisters	Grand- parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
647	Dahiata		—						
139									
648	Ch. Raturesi	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
649	Kasameen	—							
650	Daimaha		—						
651	Huilele		—						
652	Lelhalono		—						
653	S. Silila					—			
654	Huasair					—			
140									
655	Loiomas	×					Loira	Selewaku	Wuhru
656	Hualartai				—				
657	Lelwaintimur		—						
658	Lursalu		—						
659	Watalua				—				
660	Lelsari		—						
661	Sursehula		—						
141									
662	Resinalohi	×					Mildai	Selewaku	Marna
663	Lulwai	—							
664	Huilatu		—						
665	Haisou		×						
142									
666	Ma'uloi	×					Asanapi a- raruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
667	Watahunlori	—							
668	Lawan		×						
669	Lelwaintimur		—						
143									
670	Lewehaira	×					Resimere	Selewaku	Marna
671	Huilila	—							
672	Hujono		×						
144									
673	Ma'uhanrasa	×					Asanapi a- raruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
674	Huiha'u	—							
675	M. Mimhoru		—						
676	D. Mesiwar		×						
145									
677	Resisuai	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
678	Rarjoho	—							
679	Kamanasa		×						
680	Reiara		×						
146									
681	Ma'uata	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
682	Surlana	—							
683	Ratuhunlori		×						
684	Rikeren					×			
685	Telpai					—			
686	Daimaha				—				
687	Surlana				—				
688	Lelhunu				—				

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
689	Sur(i) wainlawan			—					
147									
690	Ratusuai	×					Waruara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
691	Surhanrasa					—			
692	Romkasi					—			
693	Hurlewen				—				
694	Surleka				—				
695	Serekate				×				
148									
696	Kersai	×					Resimere	Selewaku	Marna
697	Durumsair	—							
698	Loimaa		×						
699	Surdenloro		—						
700	La'uhitin					—			
701	Denloro				—				
702	Suritaraleu		—						
149									
703	Ratusuai	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
704	Surdila					—			
705	Romkasi			—					
150									
706	J. Resilawanira	×					La'uaara	Selewaku	Marna
707	Unakai	—							
708	Surileli					—			
709	Watasoo				—				
710	Lel(i)laru				—				
711	Huikai				—				
712	Lailatu				×				
713	Ratures(i)lewen				×				
151									
714	Ruresilai	×					Asan. araruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
715	Lahan'kati		—						
716	Lalsehula		—						
717	Lelwainlawan		—						
718	Lelsari		—						
719	Res(i)keiara		×						
720	Res(i)wainlawan		×						
152									
721	Lartai	×					Resimere	Selewaku	Marna
722	Lehakati	—							
723	Surdenloro		—						
724	Watalina					—			
725	Lelidenloro		—						
153									
726	Teikuar	×					Samalare	Selewaku	Marna
727	La'usoo	—							
728	Larkaillele		×						
729	Resihaira		×						
730	Serehunu		×						
731	Kailele		×						

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
732	Unamalai					—			
733	Watasoo (widow)	—							
734	Lelhaira				—				
154									
735	Meslawan	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
155									
736	Ma'uata	×					Waruara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
737	Dahiata	—							
738	Jahumaa	—							
739	Lorsuai		×						
740	Lelhunu		—						
741	Surlana		—						
156									
742	L. Latusuai	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
743	Laltuda	—							
744	Jahumaa		—						
745	Surleka		—						
746	Huihariklai					—			
747	Leliai					—			
748	Kahawono				—				
749	Kaihili				×				
157									
750	Saldara	×					Mildai	Selewaku	Wuhru II
751	Wataaslai					—			Marna
752	La'uki		—						"
753	Watahanrasa		—						"
754	Ratutaraleu		×						"
158									
755	Sokolai	×					Asan. araruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
756	Ratuaduara				×				
159									
757	D. Resima'u	×					Asan. araruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
758	E. Ratuhanrasa	—							
759	J. Resima'u		—						
760	L. Resima'u		—						
761	W. Resima'u		×						
762	A. Resima'u		×						
763	M. Resima'u				—				
764	Huadail				—				
765	Lalmuta				—				
160									
766	J. Resima'u	×					Asan. araruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
767	Rarjoho	—							Wuhru II
161									
768	Lorsiwi	×					Hunlori	Selewaku	Wuhru II
769	Tahotali	—							
770	La'uhitin		—						
162									
771	Loisoo	×					Asanapi	Selewaku	Wuhru II
772	Sur(i)leka	—							

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
773	Neuwai			×					
163									
774	Ch. Ratuvara	×					Maroko	Selewaku	Wuhru II
775	H. Sarik	—							
776	H. Ratuvara		—						
777	La'ukana		—						
778	Werhair					—			
779	Lelherlook		—						
164									
780	E. Lartelu	×					Maroko	Selewaku	Wuhru II
781	Kulsoo	—							
782	Lelsoo		—						
165									
783	Raturesi	×					Loslapai	Selewaku	Wuhru II
166									
784	Ratuohalin	×					Nun'kokara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
785	Darlekrase					×			
786	Werhair					—			
167									
787	Wusreita'u	×					Nun'kokara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
168									
788	Resimaawidil	×					Nun'kokara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
789	Lelkamanasa	—							
169									
790	Lawanmalai	×					Luanmodo	Selewaku	Wuhru II
170									
791	Resiratu	×					Rusu	Selewaku	Marna
792	Unakai					—			
793	Watakuar				—				
794	Surhaira		—						
795	Res(i)lewen				×				
171									
796	Loimaa	×					Resimere	Selewaku	Marna
797	Lulwai	—							
172									
798	Manhei	×					Nun'kokara	Selewaku	Wuhru II
799	Kuliklai	—							
173									
800	Th. Latusuai	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
801	La'uherlook	—							
802	Huikoro		—						
803	Okhari					—			
804	Huiha'u				—				
805	M. Latusuai		×						
806	Tanuarei		×						
807	Rarjoho		—						
808	Herlook		×						
174									
809	Ratuleka	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
175									
810	Lartelu	×					Nana'uru	Selewaku	Wuhru II
176									
811	Heremroka	×					Lelapai	Selewaku	Marna
812	Watasoo	—							
813	Huakati		—						
814	Huawaru								
815	Haja'ulu		×						
177									
816	Horuhai	×					Leka	Selewaku	Wuhru II
817	Mimhoru	—							
818	Risanmalai			×					
178									
819	Lulhili	—					Ma'uaara	Selewaku	Marna
820	Surilawanira		—						
821	Kailele		×						
822	Durumsair		—						
823	Hajaira		×						
179									
824	Teikai	×					Ja'ulutur	Selewaku	Marna
180									
825	Ratuoolawan	×					Asan. araruan	Selewaku	Wuhru
826	Rarkei	—							
827	Mim(i)sehula		—						
828	Sur(i)sehula		—						
829	Lalkere		—						
830	Ratusehula		×						
831	Reskeiara		×						

*B. Population of Oirata Warat in January 1934*

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
1									
1	G. D. Horu	×					Resiara	A'udoro	Marna
2	H. Serain	—							"
3	A. Horu		×						"
4	I. Horu		×						"
5	J. Horu		—						"
6	Huanai					—			"
7	Lelnai			—					"
8	Lelresiara			—					"
9	J. Horu		×						"
2									
10	Raturesiara	×					Nakaleki	A'udoro	Marna
11	La'usoo	—							"
12	Linamali		—						"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
13	Lelrai (widow)	—							Marna
14	Tahotali	—				—			"
15	Jahuara	—							"
16	Ma'usara		×						"
3									
17	K. Katihara	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Marna
18	Surleli	—							"
19	D. Huimodo		—						"
20	Lulhili		—						"
21	H. Mim(i) sima —								"
22	Lulwai —								"
23	Lookata ×								"
4									
24	Lewenhara	×					Semu	A'udoro	Marna
25	Lulsuri	—							"
26	Huakati		—						"
27	La'usarlor		—						"
28	A'umanjora		×						"
5									
29	Huakati (widow)	—					Semu	A'udoro	Marna
30	W. Lulwai		—						"
31	M. Ma'ukati		×						"
6									
32	Sooratu	×					Pakinana	A'udoro	Marna
33	Huilatu	—							"
34	Maama'u		×						"
35	Huilewen		—						"
36	Watawunu		—						"
37	Durumsair		—						"
38	Lelhili —								"
39	Rat(u)sarleki		×						"
7									
40	H. Harakati	×					Pakinana	A'udoro	Marna
41	Huilatu —								"
42	Lulwai		—						"
8									
43	Ratumurun	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
44	Kodima'u	—							"
45	Liuresiara		×						"
46	Kulsoo		—						"
47	Ratuma'usa			×					"
48	Tahotali			—					"
9									
49	P. Ratulewen	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
50	Tahotali	—							"
51	Lelsooma'ulesi	—							"
52	C. Resiara			×					"
10									
53	I. Resiara	×					Resiara	A'udoro	Atan
54	Lelherlook	—							"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
55	Resisamodo		×						Atan
56	Lorhali		×						"
57	Mimjata (widow)	—							"
58	Watamaa —								"
59	Kulsoo		—						"
60	Mim(i)lai		—						"
11									
61	Ruhiata	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
62	Lihasa	—							"
63	Lelsoo		—						"
64	D. Dailewen		×						"
65	N. Nasmaa	×							"
66	A. Ratumurun		×						"
67	D. Ratumurun	×							"
68	Lelresiara	—							"
69	La'uhitin		—						"
70	Z. Ratumurun	×							"
71	C. Watadihi	—							"
12									
72	B. Ratuluhain	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
73	Tahotali —								"
74	? —								"
75	C. Kulsoo —								"
76	La'usurwei —								"
77	Dahiata —								"
78	R. Ratuluhain		×						"
79	La'usurwei		—						"
80	Lelresiara		—						"
13									
81	Ruhiata	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
82	Leldailete	—							"
83	Loihali					×			"
84	M. Maamali	×							"
85	D. Ma'usara ×								"
86	Lekimaa	×							"
87	Lelsoo	—							"
88	Humaa ×								"
89	Dairesiara		×						"
90	Huikoro			—					"
14									
91	Keiresiara	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
92	Kasalewen	—							"
93	La'uhalin			—					"
15									
94	Lahaleu	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
95	Lelnori	—							"
96	Kulsoo		—						"
16									
97	Lawanresiara	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
98	Surai	—							"



Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
99	Mim(i)koro —								Atan
100	Ma'usara		×						"
101	Ranjara		×						"
102	L. Loihali	×							"
17									
103	La'umurun	—					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
104	Tahotali —								"
18									
105	Resiara	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
106	Rarjoho	—							"
107	Lelnori		—						"
108	Lelresiara		—						"
109	La'uhitin —								"
19									
110	Maamali	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
111	La'uherlook	—							"
112	Wataresiara		—						"
113	Mimkoro —								"
114	M. Meheloi		—						"
115	La'uhitin		—						"
116	L. Meheloi		—						"
117	Resiara	×							"
20									
118	Setimalai	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
119	La'uhalin	—							"
120	La'uhitin		—						"
121	Maadai		×						"
21									
122	Solemede	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
123	La'uhalin	—							"
124	R. Kodilewen —								"
125	Lahalen		×						"
126	Lelsoo		—						"
22									
127	G. Lookata	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Marna
128	Huawai	—							"
129	Witama'u					—			"
23									
130	Dairesiara	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
131	Lelsoo					—			"
132	La'uresiara		—						"
24									
133	L. Maamali	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
134	Leldai	—							"
135	Watamaa		—						"
136	Luanmodo		×						"
137	Lelnoo		—						"
138	Taluara		×						"
139	La'unoo		—						"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
25									
140	Perkene	×					Resiara	A'udoro	Atan
141	Dekoro	—							"
142	Liuresiara		×						"
143	Watamoru		—						"
144	Lelresiara			—					"
145	Airete	×							"
146	Mormalai	—							"
147	Lelmalai		—						"
148	Puisoo		—						"
149	Daimalai			×					"
26									
150	Linamalai (widow)	—					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
151	Delono		—						"
152	Mukia		—						"
27									
153	S. Ratumurun	×					Taluara	A'udoro	Atan
154	Lelsoo	—							"
28									
155	Mularen	×					Sesewoor	A'udoro	Atan
29									
156	L. Nairail	×					Asalono I	Asatupa	Marna
157	Rarleli	—							"
158	Lartai		×						"
159	Lelkuan		—						"
160	Lakamaraka		—						"
161	Terweles		×						"
30									
162	Haindail					×	Asalono I	Asatupa	Marna
163	Wurlina					—			"
31									
164	Lulmalai (widow)	—					Asalono I	Asatupa	Marna
165	Lewedin'kene			×					"
166	Loporen			—					Atan
32									
167	J. Tetidail	×					Rahil	Asatupa	Marna
168	Huiresan	—							"
169	Dailtai					×			"
170	Watakoun —								"
33									
171	Lulhili —						Asalono I	Asatupa	Marna
172	Leldin'kene —								"
34									
173	Sookai	×					Surlali-Malali	Asatupa	Marna
174	Lel(i)laru	—							"
175	Iklaiihara	×							"
176	Watakoun	—							"
177	Watarusu		—						"
178	Detelu		—						"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
35									
179	Patawain	×					Surlali-Malali	Asatupa	Marna
180	Huawai				—				"
181	Huilatu				—				"
36									
182	Londail	×					Kirkirjara	Asatupa	Wuhru
183	Kik(i) soro	—							"
184	Jahudin'kene		—						"
37									
185	Londin'kene (wid.)	—					Kirkirjara	Asatupa	Wuhru
186	Watalono				—				"
187	Huamaa				—				"
38									
188	Watahunlori (wid.)	—					Kirkirjara	Asatupa	Wuhru
189	Lon		×						"
39									
190	Ma'ulene	×					Kirkirjara	Asatupa	Wuhru
191	Mimimeen				—				"
192	Jahudin'kene		—						"
193	Surdin'kene		—						"
40									
194	Loitai	×					Momorulu	Asatupa	Marna
195	Mimalai				—				"
196	Surdin'kene			—					Wuhru
41									
197	L. Ratuhanrasa	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
198	D. Ratuhanrasa				×				Wuhru
199	Ma'useilewen					×			"
200	Suriwatalaman					—			"
201	Weudihi				—				"
202	Lonseilewen				×				"
203	Mim(i) kerni (wid.)	—							
204	Londin'kene		×						
42									
205	Lonira	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
43									
206	L. Wedilen	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
207	Dihinono				—				
208	Wuniklai				—				
209	L. Lonmaaduka		×						
44									
210	J. Ratuhanrasa	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
211	Lelmalai	—							Atan
212	Hunseiara					×			
213	Surmara					—			
214	Niwarhalin				×				
45									
215	Seserili	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
46									
216	S. Sokolai	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
217	Lursalu	—							
218	Leihanrasa		—						
219	Lon		×						
220	Surdin'kene		—						
47									
221	Daramrai	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
222	Mim(i)keri	—							
223	R. Resiwainlawan				×				
224	J. Loira				×				
225	Dukmasa				—				
48									
226	R. Ratulonira	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
227	Huainkai	—							Atan
49									
228	Watasurwei (wid.)	—					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
229	Jahudin'kene			×					"
230	La'uhunlori			×					"
50									
231	Lonira	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
232	Unam(a)lai	—							
233	Surdin'kene		—						
234	Huadin'kene		—						
235	Wainlawan		×						
236	Saikene		×						
51									
237	L. Tilukai	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
238	Lelhair (widow)	—				—			
239	Lulkoli				—				
240	Lohorai				—				
241	Huisenrasa				—				
242	Ratulonira				×				
243	Taluhain				×				
244	Din'kene					×			
245	Watadail					—			
52									
246	D. Ratumimhain	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
247	Lelhair	—							
248	Lorilon		×						
249	Surdin'kene		—						
250	Lohorai					—			
251	La'uhitin					—			
53									
252	Lakhali	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
253	Lelhair	—							
254	Jahulai					—			
255	Mimsoo				—				
256	Ratalhain				×				
54									
257	Mimkeri (widow)	—					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
258	Leliklai		—						"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
259	M. La'udin'kene		—						Wuhru
260	Surdin'kene		—						"
261	Heenarin		×						"
262	Londin'kene		×						"
263	Lonsel		×						"
55									
264	Kailjono	×					Kinihi	Asatupa	Marna
265	Rarliwi	—							Atan
266	Leliljono				—				Marna
267	Ratasin		×						"
56									
268	Harasilu	×					Hujeni	Asatupa	Marna
269	Lelhejeni		—						
270	La'uhejeni		—						
271	Mimiasi (widow)					—			
57									
272	Ratuhieni	×					Hujeni	Asatupa	Marna
273	Mim(i)lai	—							
274	Lulhili		—						
275	J. Ratuhurai	×							
276	E. La'ukiki	—							
277	J. Resihieni		×						
278	Rurumhili		—						
58									
279	Ratuhunlori	×					Hujeni	Asatupa	Marna
280	L. Lulhili	—							
59									
281	J. Selkati	×					Hujeni	Asatupa	Marna
282	Rarleli	—							"
283	Hujono (widow)					—			"
284	Siwilai					×			"
285	Huai (widow)					—			"
286	Lelnori			—					Atan
287	Sairkou					×			Marna
60									
288	Iljona	×					Ilwaru	Asatupa	Marna
289	Mimlai	—							Atan
290	Liursamodo		×						"
291	Maadai		×						"
292	Kalsoo			—					"
293	Unasuri		—						Marna
294	Unasa			—					"
61									
295	Perelon	×					Asalono II	Asatupa	Atan
296	Lurmalai	—							"
297	Keiromon		—						"
298	Lelsaptu		—						"
299	Derisan		—						"
62									
300	Londailete	×					Asalono II	Asatupa	Atan

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
301	Delawan	—							Atan
302	Selmalai		—						"
303	Leldailete		—						"
304	Namdailete		×						"
63									
305	Daisokolai	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
64									
306	J. Ratuhanrasa	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
307	Huarusu					—			"
308	Lahan'kati				—				"
309	Watalonira				—				"
65									
310	Larsoomatur	×					Surlali-malali	Asatupa	Marna
311	Huima'u (widow)					—			"
312	Lihakati				—				"
313	Detelu				—				"
314	Laihara				×				"
66									
315	Metia	×					Kirkirjara	Asatupa	Wuhru
67									
316	Horlai	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
317	Mimuta					—			"
318	Kahawono	—							"
319	La'uhitin	—							"
320	Suriwatalaman				—				"
68									
321	W. Wainlawan	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
322	Lelon	—							"
323	Waduara		×						"
324	Keidin'kene		×						"
325	Unamlai				—				"
326	Lohorai				—				"
69									
327	L. Londin'kene	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
70									
328	M. Latupaira	×					Hooren	Asatupa	Wuhru
71									
329	Resiloho	×					Lolower	Ira	Marna
330	Huimaa	—							"
331	Malaikeri	×							"
332	Hualartai	—							Wuhru
72									
333	M. Sarlor	×					Koukousarlor	Ira	Marna
334	Lelonira	—							Wuhru
335	Lon'kei		×						"
336	Lahan'kati (widow)	—							"
73									
337	Lewensara	×					Motohain	Ira	Marna
338	Huania	—							"

Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
339	Resikeilewen		×						Marna
340	Ratuseumaa		×						"
74									
341	C. La'udiun	×					Watalaman	Ira	Wuhru
342	Lalwilan	—							"
343	Lulkoli					—			"
344	Romonara				—				"
345	A. Mamanada			×					"
346	Sa'urai	×							"
347	Jahudin'kene	—							"
348	Hualawanira			—					"
75									
349	Jahudin'kene	—					Watalaman	Ira	Wuhru
350	M. Huitomleli		—						"
351	Jahulai		—						"
352	P. Almahan		×						"
353	Huakeiara		—						"
76									
354	Alkasa	×					Watalaman	Ira	Wuhru
355	Huisina	—							"
356	Lawatalaman		×						"
357	Suriwatalaman		—						"
77									
358	Domlai	×					Nuruhun	Ira	Wuhru
359	Huisina	—							"
360	Lelwaintimur		—						"
78									
361	Sa'urai	×					Ilwali	Ira	Wuhru
362	Hurnaha	—							"
363	Rateskei		×						"
364	Keiresiara		×						"
365	Romwadu					—			"
366	Watakeiara					—			"
79									
367	Ratumara	×					Nuruhun	Ira	Wuhru
368	Surwainlawan	—							"
369	Narkira		×						"
370	Mima'u		—						"
80									
371	Ratuilseri	×					Nuruhun	Ira	Wuhru
372	Mimseiara	—							"
373	Mimkeri		—						"
374	Mimihala		—						"
375	Larmo'u					—			"
81									
376	T. Keiara	×					Motohain	Ira	Marna
82									
377	H. Haratelu	×					Iklailon	Ira	Wuhru
378	Weudihi				—	—			"
379	F'ualartai				—				"



Nrs.	Names	Parents	Children	Foster-children	Broth. and sisters	Grand-parents	Koto (lineage)	Pada (clan)	Caste
83									
380	L. Haratelu	×					Iklailon	Ira	Wuhru
381	Romtatesi					—			"
382	Huatelu				—				"
383	C. Keiwaduara				×				"
384	Waruhi				—				"
385	Hualartai (widow)		—						"
84									
386	Maatelu					×	Iklailon	Ira	Wuhru
387	Teluaku					×			"
388	Resikeiloho					×			"
389	Lelwadu		—						"
390	Keiwaduara		—						"
85									
391	Hairma'u					×	Nuruhun	Ira	Wuhru
392	Nuruhun					×			"
86									
393	Lursalu					—	Nuruhun	Ira	Wuhru
394	Jahusina				—				"
395	Huimaa		—						"
396	Surminasin		—						"
397	Taraleu	×							"

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## IV

### MYTH IN OIRATA AND ENGLISH

#### Introduction

The story that follows is the version owned by clan Hanoo of the central tribal myth, relating the creation of the world, of nature as we know it, of man and the eldest ancestors of the Oirata people, their wanderings and adventures during the mythical period between primeval creation and the definite arrangement and grouping of all beings and things in their proper places and functions, and the ultimate foundation of the present-day village of Oirata by the merely human descendants of those supernatural beings who, in Oirata as in any archaic culture, are the chief actors in historical tradition no less than in religious speculation. The narrators of the story were nine members of clan Hanoo, representing different lineages, men of undisputed authority in matters of adat and tradition, to whom the accurate rendering of this myth in order to preserve it for posterity, was a self-imposed, more or less sacred task, not wholly without danger either, for which they felt jointly responsible. Nor were they willing to relate unless five of them at least were present. Once only they made an exception to this rule: the narrating of the interpolations 72.19—73.30 and 98.34—102.11, which were evidently not held to be of primary importance, was left, by common consent, to one of them, the others meanwhile taking a free day to make up for lost time in the gardens. The narrative was often interrupted by long discussions and deliberations about the true order of events or about whether or not certain episodes or details ought to be inserted. In spite of these precautions the narrators have not been able to prevent the story as it is here presented from being obscured by rather serious gaps and inconsistencies besides some passages wanting in clearness and a number of immaterial, though inconvenient, minor mistakes. This is partly owing to differences on certain points among themselves not having been properly settled before the passages concerned were related, partly also to negligence and lack of understanding on the part of the interpreter, but chiefly to the fact that this clan version of a common tribal myth is really neither less vaguely outlined nor less differentiated as to its contents than the latter itself is sure to be. This is only natural. A myth like this, which has the pretension of epitomizing the total sacred and profane history of the tribe; in which, consequently, later events and pretended new evidence regarding older episodes are continually being worked up into a consistent whole; which, moreover, has for generations been exposed to the joint and



highly disintegrating action of western rationalism and western intolerance, such a myth must necessarily develop to a collection of mythical narratives in different versions, still grouped, it is true, round a central idea, but for the rest only loosely if at all connected. In virtue of this consideration the field-worker should never try to obtain a fully consistent and complete version, or an "original" version, by means of drawing the informants' attention to gaps and contradictory statements in their narrative, the result of such a procedure being a pitiable confusion on the part of the narrators and the cropping up of an entirely new artificial version, whose forced uniformity and consistency are really valueless. It is the student's task — and exclusively his — to reconstruct the essential meaning of a myth from the narratives, be they ever so multiform and contradictory, of his informants; under no pretence this task should ever be deputed to or shared with the native narrators.

Now, considering all circumstances, we have to admit that the component parts of our myth are certainly not less coherent than could reasonably have been expected. On the contrary, the leading ideas stand out clearly against the variegated and at first sight rather irrelevant subject-matter of certain episodes and digressions, and the latter themselves — far from being accidental insertions — are on closer study appreciated as illuminating expatiations by means of which precisely the central ideas are ever and again brought home and dwelt upon. These central ideas, which are not specifically Oirata except in so far as they are exclusively concerned with local history, may be briefly outlined by way of introduction. A more detailed analysis is to follow later on (see p. 150 ff.).

The two decisive acts of creation are the sexual union of sky and earth, in which originate, directly or indirectly, all beings and things, and their separation, which gives the cosmos its definite aspect and allows the performance of minor creative acts of a complementary nature. During the mythical period in which this process is carried to completion, the progeny of the first human couple repeatedly shows its twofold origin and its ambivalent nature by constructive or even creative acts on the one side and wilfully destructive meddling on the other side. They share the features of both benefactor and trickster with some other mythical figures in human disguise, and their close affinity to the superhuman actors in creation is manifest from all their deeds and adventures. All these supernatural forces, thus personalized, flow together so to say in the personality of the Creator, who, although represented as standing outside and above nature, is nevertheless in different ways identified with or personified by minor mythical figures and natural phenomena.

Looked upon as a would-be historical account of the tribal past, which in a way it is, our myth is especially concerned with the repeated separation of elder and younger branches of the original lineage and the ensuing migrations. After the western world (represented by the English and the Hollanders) has been accounted for by the first separation of elder and

younger brothers, the former of whom went to the West, the narrative continues to relate how the latter, who stayed in the East, divided again, the eldest brother settling in Timor and the youngest on Kisar. The story of these first migrations may be regarded as an introduction to the substance of the myth: the adventures of the youngest brothers' lineage, retarding ever and again their ultimate settling in the present-day Oirata (the mythical Horna-Werna) on Kisar, their predestined home from creation onward. The obstacles to the fulfilment of this preordained issue, the ordeal of repeatedly frustrated design, of apparently senseless misfortunes, to a large extent due to their own stupidity or foolishness, are the obvious counterpart, in this myth, of the series of troubles and trials representing the initiation rites in other tribal myths in which the preordained marriage of the ancestral couple is the sacred and central event at issue. Nor is this substitution difficult to explain. The tribal myth of Oirata aims before all things at proving the birth-right of the Oirata people to the land they occupy overagainst the rest of the Kisar population, which rejects this claim and considers Oirata an immigrant group owing its land to the mercy of the real rulers of Kisar and to the company. As it is a historical fact that the founding of Oirata took place about 1725, when the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants immigrated from Timor, the latter can only defend their claim by referring to prehistorical events, presenting the historical immigration as their ultimate return to the land of their forefathers. This is exactly what the essential contents of their tribal myth comes to: the interest in the mythical vicissitudes of their tribal life in exile is paramount and almost exclusive of concern with other mythical aspects.

Now the question might be raised whether, if our view is right, the myth has not for the greater part come into being during the last two centuries in reply to the unfriendly and even hostile attitude of the Kisarese proper; whether, in other words, the greater part if it has not been made up for the purpose of justifying the immigration and strengthening the newcomers' position. And a second query would present itself in this connection, namely, how far the Oirata people know their immigration from Timor, two centuries ago, to be a historical fact. For the cropping up of a mythical narrative in response to a challenge to make good certain claims, does not necessarily imply that the defendants do not give credence to their own pretensions.

The first question should undoubtedly be answered in the negative. Even the episodes which directly concern Kisar, need not in their entirety be subsequent to the historical immigration. It stands to reason that there has of old been contact and intercourse between the inhabitants of the northeastern part of Timor and southern Kisar, either group living in sight of the opposite coast, and it is not at all impossible or even improbable that large portions of the episodes in question already formed part of Oirata mythical tradition before the tribe's historical settling on Kisar. This

probability is still greater, of course, with regard to such traits as are not unmistakably relating to conditions in the new home. The modification of tribal myth after the immigration may chiefly consist in a certain shifting of interest under pressure from outside. We shall presently see that the mythical elements thus thrown into the background still belong to the most popular minor episodes. In reply to the second question we may state that the elders of the tribe, the real guardians of tradition, are certainly not aware of any particular event, two centuries ago, having a claim to their special interest on the ground of being the first strictly historical fact of their tribal history. They are not troubled by scientific doubts; their tribal tradition is one and undivided, the whole of it is, in a sense, myth, because the whole of it originates in the superhuman, sacred deeds of creation, by which, once and for all, the essential course of events has been preordained. It is a well-known fact that, in archaic cultures, even historical events which are still remembered by the eldest generation, are easily worked up into myth, if they are not utterly uncongenial with the mythical system — and seldom they are. Tribal memory, unsupported by writing, is short and highly inaccurate, and historical truth is never a match of the coercive power of prevalent mythical ideas. Is it any wonder, then, that a historical fact of two centuries ago does not in the least impair a mythical tradition which designates the Oirata rulers as the real lords of the land and the rest of the population as a more or less heterogeneous lot of immigrants? Especially the final episode of the myth, which regards the arrival of the "Company" and the satisfactory alliance between the two parties, is instructive from this point of view, recent events being identified without the slightest concern about historical truth with happenings in a period which, to Oirata tradition, entirely belongs to the mythical past.

## TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

- 1 Apna-Apha pai to inaa lēn lapai  
oo umajauēle ita'uthelere. Lēn lapai  
nēne Maukou, umajauēle tie nēneta  
Huimau. [Wadu wanat tinaa ete-  
5 modo tarumodora tie onhali ha  
horia oo nunu tapu lapai ta lause.  
Uma ono kounē kemene. Asa riunu  
salini tirī no onhali. Unaa wadu  
tinaa Rāta ma'u nunu iamire, Walur  
10 ma'u horia iamire. Poje asapoje  
aramudumire, Kaharlain nunuta-  
ran<sup>1)</sup> namire. Kaharlain ie Rāta  
asile ine: Rāte! apte uma dedemana  
soli to ate umare wīsare to apte  
15 uma aran aun soli. Tetu Rāta wī-  
sare le ine: dedemana pitu, iri uma  
aranie pitu tonō uma ali lauare!  
Kaharlain wīsar ti nawarware le  
ine: ha, so toho ioone he, ēlukun  
20 sala wīsar sala! Saile Kaharlain  
Walur asile ine: Rāta<sup>2)</sup> Walur,  
ate al wīsare to uma kounē kemenen  
ti liarhai to apte uma aran aun soli.  
Tetu Walur wīsare: dedemana pitu,  
25 iri uma aranie pitu tonō uma ali  
lauare! Kaharlain wīsar ti nawar-  
ware le ine: ha, so toho ioone he,  
ēlukun sala wīsar sala! Saile Kahar-  
lain Pojeasa asile ine: Rāta<sup>2)</sup> Poje-  
30 asa, ate al wīsare to uma kounē  
kemenen ti liarhai to apte uma aran  
aun soli. Tetu Pojeasa wīsare:  
dedemana pitu, iri uma aranie pitu  
tonō uma ali lauare! Kaharlain wīsar  
35 ti nawarware le ine: ha, so toho  
ioone he, ēlukun sala wīsar sala.  
Asa uteen apu tie wīsarenie sukan

The Creator caused the large Sky  
and the Earth to be one. The name  
of the large Sky was Maukou, the  
name of the Earth was Huimau.  
[In those times no plants were  
living yet except the parna and the  
waringin with big seeds. The earth  
was still in darkness. There was not  
yet a multitude of birds. The Eagle  
came and alighted on the waringin,  
Pigeon came and alighted on the  
parna. Weed-bird sat down in the  
weeds, Magpie sat down on a  
branch of the waringin. Magpie  
said to Eagle: Eagle! we are living  
in the dark, so you first give your  
pronouncement, that we may live in  
the light. Then Eagle pronounced  
thus: seven nights, seven days, then  
again darkness! As Magpie heard  
this pronouncement he said: ah, it  
should not be thus, your pronoun-  
cement is wrong! Thereupon Mag-  
pie said to Pigeon: Eagle Pigeon,  
now you give your pronouncement,  
that the darkness be changed, that  
we may live in the light. Then  
Pigeon pronounced: seven nights,  
seven days, then again darkness!  
As Magpie heard this pronounce-  
ment he said: Ah, it should not be  
thus, your pronouncement is wrong!  
Thereupon Magpie said to Weed-  
bird: Eagle Weed-bird, now you  
give your pronouncement, that the  
darkness be changed, that we may  
live in the light. Then Weed-bird

<sup>1)</sup> Nunu tie aran — the place which is underneath the waringin.

<sup>2)</sup> Rāta is here used as an epitheton ornans.

1 sala, tetu Kaharlain ine: iratu utu  
 apu lukunu wisara saile ro. Ante al  
 luku wisare, panha awarwarere!  
 Tetu wisare le ine: uma ara al de-  
 5 demana to ratu na ratu tuhuru oon  
 anka'i, ka'isala, oonira, oon ada,  
 namirai jo <sup>1)</sup> itua, ihala, imeti,  
 iloro! Inaa Kaharlain tie wisara lolo  
 Apna-Apha wa'in oowaja taanaane  
 10 tonono aiti uma aran uani uma dede-  
 mana uani le aiti iri.]

15

20

Apna-Apha ie luku ene to lēn lapai  
 oo umajaele itanamele to ratu wa'i  
 nami nēneje Wadlau. Jejen to  
 25 matu sesele, to isarun ahamu ratu  
 tuhur naliare. Inaa rateen apu tie  
 itaahure to rewai-rawai ratu nēme  
 nawa'i oo maro laulausana ratu  
 ejeene, tuhur auni nami auni nēneta  
 30 le Tātilu Laltilu. Rewai-rawai nami  
 nēme apu tie lēn lapai tina'i me  
 mederutur, umajaele time aralare.  
 Iapele ti mudaa kohil pitu dolon  
 pitu mudaa mallakte to <sup>2)</sup> ira lapai  
 35 tai lapai tina'iri. Inaa tonono uma  
 etere ajere: rewai-rawai t'aunie  
 Wertutun Werwain, unie Umana  
 Serna <sup>3)</sup> nēneta, rewai-rawai unie  
 Eter, unie Domo, nēneta Upor-  
 40 maha, unie medai naa Asa tina'iri,

pronounced: seven nights, seven  
 days, then again darkness! As  
 Magpie heard this pronouncement  
 he said: ah, it should not be thus,  
 your pronouncement is wrong! As  
 the pronouncements of those three  
 birds were wrong altogether, Mag-  
 pie said: you three have pronounced  
 wrong. Now listen also to my pro-  
 nouncement. Then he pronounced  
 thus: light and darkness alternately  
 for all people, that the women may  
 spin yarn, cotton, may fetch water  
 and wood, and the men may take  
 care of lontar-palms and gardens,  
 may attend to reef and sea! As this  
 pronouncement of Magpie was  
 right, it was fulfilled by the Crea-  
 tor, so from that time day and night  
 have been succeeding each other  
 until now.]

On a word of the Creator Sky  
 and Earth cohabited and begot a  
 son who was named Wadlau. As  
 he did not like to be alone, he pulled  
 out one of his ribs and transformed  
 it into a woman. These two married  
 and begot six male demons and two  
 human children, one boy and one  
 girl, named Tātilu and Laltilu.  
 Those six male demons pushed up  
 Sky and trod down Earth. From  
 their sevenfold soles squirted up  
 the great waters of land and sea.  
 Thereupon the land was arranged  
 thus: one demon became Wertutun  
 Werwain, one was named Mother  
 of islands, one was Wetar, one  
 became Roma, named Upormaha,  
 one the Bird, on high, and one the

<sup>1)</sup> Namirai o — also the husband or her husband. Before the next words is to be read oon.

<sup>2)</sup> The particle to here indicates that the direct object (patients) of the act is to follow (cp. the use of Malay akan).

<sup>3)</sup> Mother of islands = Timor.

- 1 unie Tawan Waruana <sup>1)</sup> tina'iri. Tātilu tina'ie lawan ushata ie nunu lakarau oonjēte. Ilerene Laltilu asilene to nadiaka, panha ma ilana
- 5 ile to matu mule: Lakluana Lailuana urar kasarū to eme. Tātilu odonaa ma'u nautane, matu mule, urar harita nornate, to inumusaure. Nāmi tie iinatapu ahamu le mesi to wata
- 10 hitini tina'iri to wanat tinaa wata tie lause le lēn tapa. Tātilu te ilerene Laltilu kasarū to wata tina'i jamoi, jo sirkede le houte le aramudumire. Namie <sup>2)</sup> ēle wakile le jamoi le
- 15 daran ianini <sup>3)</sup> jamoi. Uaraha me utu sirkede le matu unnāni <sup>4)</sup>. Tātilu te matu Lakluan Lailuan modo tuhuru ahure, tuhuraje ratu pata nawa'i, namie ratu lime. [Naha
- 20 inaa tuhurai tie eme ilita salnen pai, ileu waitenpai, namrai tie me itua wewelun pai <sup>5)</sup>, ialuana sahusahun pai. Medai naa Naha ali araume le eme dadan pitu sorlewen <sup>6)</sup> mu-
- 25 dume le ma'u daran ultua iro <sup>7)</sup>. Unaa ileren adawa'in ti ahure to nami pata nawa'i, tuhur auni. Inaa ratu ti wa'i saile <sup>8)</sup> Uruwadu mei me unarau, iaa māla, rain, saholo,
- 30 tutrulu, iakawar, pēne, etewaje, tarkasa me etere. Māla timur here, tour tie warat here. Tono Uruwadu asile ine: umanta isaje tenai tutu <sup>9)</sup> etu ahale. Tetu kāka Ikrisie pēne,

World-Serpent. Tātilu hid a bar of gold among the branches of the waringin. He told his sister Laltilu to keep watch over it, but while she was busy tying threads to be dyed, it disappeared: Lakluana and Lailuana ordered the whirlwind to take it away. When Tātilu came back from the field, he inquired about his bar of gold and heard that it was gone, owing to the whirlwind, and kept weeping. That man pulled out one of his eyes and put it in the ground; it germed into a white coco-palm, which, that very night, grew up till it supported the sky. Tātilu ordered his sister to climb that coco-palm, but she slipped, descended and sat down under the tree. Then her brother jumped up in his turn and he reached the upper sky. He closed the hole with a stone and stayed there. Tātilu then married with a daughter of Lakluan and Lailuan, with whom he begot four daughters and five sons. [And henceforth the women had to carry women's burdens in the way of women and the men had to perform the labours of men. The Creator on high further created a seven-storied dwelling-place and made it descend to the central story of heaven. There Tātilu married his

<sup>1)</sup> Tawan Waruana — who measures the years.

<sup>2)</sup> Namie = namiie, namii.

<sup>3)</sup> Lit. the story (layer) which was above.

<sup>4)</sup> Unnani = unaa(n)āni.

<sup>5)</sup> The exact meaning of itua wewelun pai remains uncertain as the meaning of wewelun is unknown to me. However at any rate the expression must mean: made take care of their lontar-palms.

<sup>6)</sup> Dadanpitusorlewen may be considered a compound, meaning seven-storied house.

<sup>7)</sup> The literal translation of this sentence is: On high the Creator gave the order and put them into a seven-storied house and lowered it to the central story (of heaven).

<sup>8)</sup> Lit. had been born, but here is meant: had grown up.

<sup>9)</sup> Lit. whoever his heart desires what.

- 1 tarkasa, etewaja, raini, saholo, tutrulu, iakawara, ilapa, looro naahale le seitaru iar nahoute le mara Ikris namire. Uenerenwa'inie Kupnini
- 5 ede raini, saholo, tutrulu, iakawara, ilapa, looro, pēne, tarkasa, etewaja isatu arutu to eme le ianaa<sup>1)</sup> asa tapatapa olo tapatapa le inahama'i ha Kupnin naa houte unamire<sup>2)</sup>.
- 10 Noonnoora timur herena ti me le matu mara Wero Wera nahoute<sup>3)</sup>. Unaa rusunu raini naakekin nāni tetu nere le ma'u Weru loraa tono tenen huale to kaka oo noonoo ita-
- 15 nautane: apte inoohai! Iri noonoo ie ine: anutu atan lain<sup>4)</sup> pitu ahure le hinan maluara patu maluara mara. Iro kaka ie araene le ine: ate uma ulina<sup>5)</sup> uma laulauru<sup>6)</sup> pai
- 20 to so ioone he<sup>7)</sup>; antono ahure le mara Umana Serna mara le huaara soli maluara soli. Atono annasohole annalare ēoo tono jāni ēwain tono jāni. Tetu lukun tōte to kaka ie
- 25 atan lain pitu ahure le Umana Serna mara le Iliara Setiara soli hirari unna lunte miatene. Noonoo ie etu taiuput me punhatle rusun rain naliare le nere le ma'u Sereleun
- 30 Seresolot nalēre.]

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own sister and begot four sons and one daughter. When these children had grown up, the Creator displayed before them on a table loin-cloths, coats, trousers, hats, shoes, pens, ink, and paper. The loin-cloths were on the eastside, all the rest on the westside. Then the Creator spoke: take what your heart desires, each of you. The eldest, from whom descend the English, took pen, paper, ink, coat, trousers, hat, shoes, rifle, sword, descended and went astray until he finally got to England, where he stayed. The next child, from whom descend the Hollanders, likewise eagerly took coat, trousers, hat, shoes, rifle, sword, pen, paper, ink and travelled, shooting birds on the way, until without knowing it he arrived in Holland, where he stayed. But the two youngest boys chose the things on the eastside of the table and arrived at Wero Wera. There they found a fully equipped canoe and went aboard, but off cape Weru the keel went and they said to each other: what are we to do! Then the youngest brother said: Let me together with these seven slaves go to the sirih-trees of our birth-place. But the eldest did not agree and said: you should not act thus; it is better that I go to Timor with the slaves, to the abode of pinang-trees

<sup>1)</sup> Iar naa.

<sup>2)</sup> Houte unamire (unaa namire) here means: arrive and stay there.

<sup>3)</sup> Wero Wera nahoute = Wero Wera naa houte — arrived at W. W.

<sup>4)</sup> The meaning of lain in this context has not become clear to me; my interpreter translated this sentence as follows: baiklah aku ke Jotowa (= Kisar) dengan segala budak ini.

<sup>5)</sup> Uma Lina means the island of Teun (east of Damar).

<sup>6)</sup> Uma La'ur means the island of Lakor. But probably the words ulina and laulauru have another meaning.

<sup>7)</sup> To so ioone he — so it will not be thus.



- 1  
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10  
15  
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25  
30  
35
- Kohili dolon me irau<sup>1)</sup>. Inaa tuhurai ratu pata oo nami limi apu tie kohili dolon ti nere le houte le halse hakane le kuar me houte le aranasi nara auru nakunu mama-muka<sup>2)</sup>. Arusu hari upumu aama emtua emtapa. To matu kuar seile pee naha kuar tie maina. Lerelai ta houte le mumse naha matu tawaretlene. Tetu kuar utrepele le malhemara le wadu jamoini mara le Sereleunu Serelaini nalēre. Inaa Uruwadu tie iaripare itanatarate<sup>3)</sup> le Uruwadu te imodowain ratwain em urakasaru to inahemau panha Dāma temraa Wero Wera me le rau<sup>4)</sup> to titlene. To kajar naahe na'umun naahe to nami aun ilerene ahure le matu tai muduni inaje ta ohru tinairi. Nami ka tinaje oo ultua lereni matu inahemau panha matu Weru loraa saile. Nami kaka tie nēneta Ratu Pitu Ratu, noonoo tie nēneta Nami Pitu Ratu, leren tie nēneta Rawiru. Rusunu raini tinai saile to matu kakat'<sup>5)</sup> oo leren tie

and sirih-trees. And you shall visit me and your mouth and teeth shall get their due. Thus they decided and the eldest, together with the seven slaves, went to Timor and, having arrived at a place named Iliara Setiara, settled down there for good and all. And the youngest gathered sea-foam and made a canoe of it, in which he sailed to Ilikesi.]

Those four women and five men together took one of the stories of heaven and laid it on the surface of the sea. They went aboard this story and let down the anchor on a spot where they saw pure white sand on the bottom. A fresh breeze rose and their craft was battered and made to rise and fall. So they tried to pull up the anchor, but the anchor stuck. Lerelai then dove into the water but he was changed into stone. So they cut the anchor-rope and sailed away eastward till they arrived at Ilikesi where they anchored. Now the Creator rose up and ordered his panic-stricken creatures to return and when they came east of Damar he created the islands of Wero Wera. And one brother and one sister, who were suffering from fatigue, descended into the sea and became whales. The eldest brother with his younger brother and sister sailed on but off cape Weru they were shipwrecked.

<sup>1)</sup> These words resume the story, interrupted by the interpolation 72.19—73.30.

<sup>2)</sup> The literal translation of the passage 12—17 runs: The (or a) story of heaven was put down. These four women and five men went aboard that story and descended on it (to the surface of the sea) and let down the anchor and when they looked down, there was pure white sand (pure crushed lime).

<sup>3)</sup> Lit. they were afraid of each other (the expression for very great fear, panic).

<sup>4)</sup> Me le rau here has the same meaning as pai to rau.

<sup>5)</sup> Kakat' = kaka tie.

- 1 rusunu raini ti anaajee le Weru  
sere nalēre. Inaa nami leren tie matu  
itaahure le matu Umana Serna soli  
hirari. Noonoo tie taiuputu mete  
5 punuhatle tetu rusunu raini tono  
nere le ma'u Welkaulu nalēre le ika  
ina panu oonasi le ine: an'ka ina  
panu ta inairi. Soroke le ma'u le  
Kourara mudaa ianasi le ine: an'ka  
10 walmodo ta inairi le matu unamire.  
Medai naa Naha ta dadan pitu sor-  
lewen rosone; tuhuru nēneta Rueru  
mete le muduume le houte. Inaa  
ratu een apu te itaahure. Tuhur tie  
15 ulawara weltaru me inami tina to  
matu momor sari <sup>1)</sup>). Inaa ratu een  
apu tie tuhur pitu nami pitu na-  
wai. Ira lētsoli tai lētsoli. Nampitu  
ratu ta imodo noonoo Usara We-  
20 sara kasaru to jamoi le Uruwadu  
nautane: Apna-Apha paito titlene  
hatate nara, dula ritlene dula hatate  
he, ira lētsoli tai lētsoli. Modo  
waini rata waini andidke kasaru to  
25 anta ma'u le Na'iro-Ha'iro le asi-  
lene to eme inoohai tono dula rit-  
lene hatate. Naha tono kasaru to  
houte nou naku: mara ha wadu pitu  
wanat pitu tono atono uranasi  
30 pannasi. Iha asile inaa noun nakunu  
ti ne nara hatu al kasaru to Usara  
Wesara al jamoi le Naha nautane:  
roro umajauele ali kepte tarate to  
apte umu panaha? Mara ha wadu  
35 pitu wanat pitu tono ena eha ton-  
mara. Wadu pitu wanat pitu atono  
houte le Palkahi naa uranasi pan-  
nasi. Wadu wanate <sup>2)</sup>) uha nara  
mara le Palkahi naa uranasi pan-  
40 nasi, jo uhe. Pansuile Mekemhoru  
naa uranasi pannasi, jo uhe. Pan-

The eldest brother was named Ratu Pitu Ratu, the youngest brother was named Nami Pitu Ratu, and the sister was named Rawiru. When the canoe was wrecked, the eldest brother and his sister swam with the boat to the coast of Weru where they landed. Here brother and sister married and settled down in Timor. The youngest brother gathered sea-foam and it became a boat in which he sailed to Welkaulu; he landed there and saw that it looked like his elder brother's face and he said: this looks like my elder brother's face. Then he travelled on and came ashore in Kourara and said, looking up: this is my elder brother's ear-hole and then he sat down there. Up in the sky the Creator prepared a seven-storied house; he put a woman into it and let it down. There those two married. The woman received clothes from her brother and then they went to the village. There those two begot seven daughters and seven sons. They were living surrounded by water. Therefore Nami Pitu Ratu ordered his youngest son, named Usara Wesara, to ascend to the Creator and ask him: our Creator has made a home for us, but it is not quite dry, it is all surrounded by water. Your child ordered me to go to our Creator and entreat him to tell us how we are to make it quite dry. Then the Creator told him to descend and instructed him thus: you may go now, but after seven days and seven nights you

<sup>1)</sup> A very unusual construction, if the translation given by the interpreter is right. Grammatically it is wrong, the meaning of the sentence being: that woman gave clothes to her brother (or man or husband) and then they went to the village.

<sup>2)</sup> Wanate = wanat te (tie).

- 1 suile le Asoo iro uhe. Pansuile le  
 mara Sereleunu Seresoloto iro nara  
 hurumaha wunhai unaa tutenāni  
 sakanāni. Lokorasa taanupuru ilini  
 5 auhere naa keile; lokoroasa nemeene  
 seltana nakeile. Lārie nakamanana  
 nāni, kita kita tuilai mimiri lairi,  
 lekro utnana nāni, tiana kotonana  
 nāni. Matu peimu le momoro nahe-  
 10 mau le ina iha ikarara asi. Na ha ka-  
 rara je nautane: amara<sup>1)</sup> ha inoone?  
 Ante mara ha rusunu raini je Ser-  
 leunu Sersoloto nāni. Karara je wi-  
 nampau leupau ira waalesere na-  
 15 hale le mara hurumaha wunhai  
 nerensoli nerenhirari. Peimu le inoo  
 tatane ma araene le ina iha itane.  
 Kakara nami nēmapu tie oo lerene  
 ratu eenapu sere mara. Wanat upur  
 20 he dedem isahuna karna mudaa  
 patarawai to hurumaha wunhai me  
 halse hakane le malhemara le on-  
 hali hatini jo lalum pitu ie tatane.  
 Lalum pitu te aun ma'u nautane:  
 25 a'umane? Irō na uane ha uane  
 nara'ume. Ijoohai le mara pitu tiro  
 woraa na uane ha uane tinai na-  
 ra'ume, ura warware umajaele  
 tinai ahutrau aliluwene tupu-tupu  
 30 reu-reu kalete holete. Umara<sup>2)</sup>  
 uranasi nara uma te mimiri lairi.  
 Apu umajaele warijauele dula rit-  
 lene dula hatate ro to aputu peimu  
 le ina asi iha asi panaha Umana  
 35 Serena inaa wawawniro, aputu  
 panuwale le mara hua malu aunu  
 tahule. Meti arus mete hari mete<sup>3)</sup>  
 to auana uraripare. Etu losu mudu-  
 hemara<sup>4)</sup> le sesele le auana kapi  
 40 ti me punterne puname rusun raini

must look about. When his father heard of this appointment, he again ordered Usara Wesara to ascend once more and to ask: will the earth be flooded again so that we may perish? The Creator answered: go now, seven days and seven nights hence I shall visit your father and mother. Seven days and seven nights hence you must descend to Palkahi and there you must look about. At the appointed time he went to Palkahi and there he looked about but there was nothing to be seen. He went on to Mekemhoru and looked about there but he did not see anything. He went on till he arrived at Asoo, there was nothing. He went on and reached Ilikesi where a large boat was lying ready on the beach. A lamp made of ten coco-palm leaves was fastened to the stern; a lamp of six coco-palm leaves was fastened to the place of the rudder. The sail was rolled up and tied, a red pennant was glittering on the top of the mast, the scoop was hanging on its peg, the quant was lying ready in its place. Then he returned to the village and saw his family. His family asked: what did you see on your journey? On my journey I saw there was lying a boat at Ilikesi. Then his elder brothers packed their baskets and things, made ready provisions, went to that boat and settled down near it. They returned to the village to call their younger brother but he would not

<sup>1)</sup> Amara = ate mara (see G. N.).

<sup>2)</sup> Uma ara — when the world was light.

<sup>3)</sup> Arus mete hari mete = hari arus mete — brought strong wind.

<sup>4)</sup> Was entered (by the sea-water).

1 maina aatina to Wersere Darsere<sup>1)</sup>  
nalēre le hua tahule malu tahule.

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Iliare le ma'u le ina iro iha iro pee  
nara warata lolono wajana winto  
35 eherana sesi worawa<sup>2)</sup> to Jōno  
Sawrama losre le mara Wursere  
Walsere iro. Panripare Oirawan  
iro tai hari eme hohoute jajamui  
emtua emtapa tetu al malhemara  
40 Werututun Weruain odomua la-  
wanmua mara le ahalse ahakane;  
kajara naahe naumunu naahe to  
houte le ira pai le tutu. Uma tinaije

come and he stayed with his  
parents. So the six elder brothers  
with two sisters went to the coast.  
When it was still night thunder  
rumbled in the South, so they pushed  
the boat off into the sea, and they  
were not yet half-way when they  
met with seven waves successively.  
When the first wave came, they  
asked: who are you? But it answer-  
ed: you and I have the same father  
and the same mother. In the same  
way all seven waves went, mention-  
ing the same father and the same  
mother, and continually they were  
heard lashing the shore behind.  
When it was light they saw that  
the land behind them looked red.  
Our island, they said, is quite dry  
now, so that we may return to visit  
our parents but as we are quite near  
Timor now we had better sail on  
thither and buy some pinang and  
sirih. With the ebbing tide came  
strong winds and a heavy sea which  
broke and loosened one of the  
boards. So the water entered the  
boat but they prayed and gathered  
the pieces of the board and repair-  
ed it so that the boat was strong  
again; they arrived at Timor where  
they bought pinang and sirih.

Then they wanted to return to  
their mother and father but the west  
monsoon was well in already and  
they were tossed to and fro until  
they arrived at Jōno Sawrama and  
floated along the coast of Timor to  
Walu. Then they hurried on as far  
as Oirawan, but there was a heavy  
sea and the boat was so violently  
battered by the waves that they  
took to sea again and went to the

<sup>1)</sup> Lit. the coast of Weru, the coast of Daru.

<sup>2)</sup> They were thrown about like seeds in a coconut shell (a rattle).

- 1 uaraha me le lapur pai le ira timini  
 ira ar pai; ada te laire nara lapuru  
 te ira'u. Iri tono hurumaha wunhai  
 tinai tulawara me le houte le eme  
 5 lapur pai le tono ira timini ira ra  
 pai. Tono mara uma oowara asile  
 tulawara uste nara uma oowara te  
 ine: atoho momor mara mara; inaa  
 inhata naa na'un aile. Intapu tinai  
 10 tulawara pai le etu maluhemau le  
 Jotowa nahemau pee. Umajauele  
 inara ma'u pee naha so odotualen  
 te inapanu ina'uni pee to Serwaru  
 Tutukei mara. Relaumali Wilau-  
 15 mali ada kila kilate tutua mee-mee  
 tetu hele Lewenmali Asamali ahure  
 le hele pai kula pai. Tono Reilau-  
 mali Wilaumali Tokonaka Lewen-  
 koho uste to inaa enene jalana tinai  
 20 ina oonhai panu oonhai.
- 25
- 30
- 35 Onhali tu toro tu ehere etu lēnara  
 ratu ikapal me le ma'u Nusamesi  
 Totina naa haka hakani. Leti paki  
 nēme apu itodono losu rosone titiri  
 tihala me kada le mara todo pee  
 40 iro<sup>1)</sup> kapal tinaije seile hitalu  
 iro aha todo aha weijee he. Inara  
 Lewenmali Asamali ihele ikula to-  
 dono losu uste kolo kolo eijeene eti

island of Wertutun Werwain, which is said to be an ivory land and a gold land, and there they anchored; and as they were fully exhausted they forthwith went ashore and cooked porridge to eat. They took stones of that very place and used them as fire-stones in order to heaten water; but when the fire flamed up, the stones fell to pieces. For that reason they fetched ballast-stones from their boat and made fire-stones out of them to be used for heatening water. When they wanted to leave, they asked the inhabitants of the island for ballast-stones, but the inhabitants said: do not frequent the village, you will have to pick them up from the sandy beach here. So they took in sand as ballast, put to sea and were going to arrive at Kisar. But if they landed there, that which they had acquired would remain the same, so they went to Serwaru Tutukei on the island of Leti. They saw the fire of Relaumali and Wilaumali twinkle and they heard the sound of pounding maize, so Lewenmali and Asamali went to them and became friends with them. Then Reilaumali and Wilaumali requested Tokonaka Lewenkoho to change that which had been acquired. Before all had been cast and welded the sky-tree prince had come drifting about with his boat from Nusamesi. The six chiefs of Leti made their boats ready in order to join that boat with drums and to tow it in but they were not able either to tow it or to propel it with paddles. Therefore Lewenmali and

<sup>1)</sup> Literal translation: The six rulers of Leti made their boats ready (and) took drums (and) when they had arrived with the intention to tow (the boat of) their friend ...

- 1 ete tepula eijeene rekse. Kolo kolo  
t'aun ie ilin nāni, unie panu nāni  
etu weijee le kapal ara mara le to-  
don pai. Weiweijee ha wowoje:  
5 *Rupitali seri itaseri Wanoro dari  
itadari*. Kapal tie ada halse lukun  
me itaina. Laupanu me itanadule  
jaulika watalika me itanadule  
todo weijee le Tutukei Serwaru  
10 mata muduhalse. Kapal t'oowaja  
Rupitali Wonara ta nairi mete le  
ina. Īumajaele dula ritlene ro,  
walale le iumajaele warjauele iro  
le loro kau. Īte mara tono inaha-  
15 nawe he pee nara inaa eme inah-  
anawe<sup>1</sup>). To Tutukei Serwaru  
naa inahanawe nara Tutukei ratu  
Serewaru ratu Wilaumali Reilau-  
mali uste to nairi tinaije inalia  
20 aunu<sup>2</sup>) uste to unaa iumajaele  
loro. To matu Lewenmali Asamali  
je upuru ti me umajaele nahema'u  
eme iumajaele loro pee nara iale-  
tana<sup>3</sup>) naa hari je utline meti  
25 utrata. Ina-Iha uste mudaa sesele le  
hari deru tai deru; hari etu āni, meti  
etu aate: *Anin huhu hianin, anin  
teni ani wotela tenin loiapun, wote-  
la reten loi liuru*<sup>4</sup>).

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Asamali asked their friends for their boats and prepared two drumming-bamboos and cut two sticks. One bamboo was placed on the stern and one on the prow and then they went paddling towards the ship and made a tow-line. While paddling they sang this song: *Rupitali's people are our people too, Wanoro's people are our people too*. The ship anchored and waited for them and they talked to each other. They allied themselves closely and, after towing and paddling into the harbour of Tutukei Serwaru, anchored there. The master of the ship Rupitali Wonara also gave them their ritual customs. Your birth land is already quite dry and you had better resort to it quickly and perform the necessary rites. You cannot leave without having learned them but here you learn it. So they learned it in Tutukei Serwaru but the nobles of Tutukei Serwaru. Wilaumali and Reilaumali, requested to leave behind one eyelash of that ritual that it might be performed there too. So Lewenmali and Asamali took the body and set out on their journey to Kisar in order to introduce the rites there, but on their way they were becalmed and the ebb was dry. Then they prayed to the Creator to call up the wind and the sea; that the wind should come and there should be water again: *The wind may blow from above on the body of the boat; a song from the stern*.

<sup>1</sup>) Literal translation: You go so that you shall not know it, so learn it here.

<sup>2</sup>) They mean: a model or statue (image) belonging to the ritual, see p. .

<sup>3</sup>) Iar letana.

<sup>4</sup>) The narrators themselves were not able to explain the exact meaning of the words of this song.

- 1 Tetu losu hinan iro, Serleunu Ser-  
soloto mudunuata winanpau leupau  
kono le le mara ina iha asio etu  
iliare le nakana ha panuje ina'u-  
5 na'uni oo ono lukluku. Modona-  
mio haruk mire le ede iliare le na-  
kana. Ha tinaije oo ono lukluku to  
modowaini ratwaini dōro pāra  
atuele naataru ederemu tutun min-  
10 jēte le ununan anaje. Jalurun iro  
nara karhou ilihitini aun asi. Matu  
iliare le momoro le nahemau le  
lukluku wo naha ununan nihe; ilasa  
nairi auni ununani. Alnahai Leunu  
15 oomana naa malhemara Loronwisi  
iro nara nisaun asi he, ipi laulau-  
sana mamamuka. Loronkodo naja-  
mui le ma'u Ilikesi iro o ipi lausana  
mamamuka tetu sesele: tahi tahi tu  
20 ipi la nauni nara wadu pitu ante  
iliare le ma'u nara uma hoho male;  
ara ilas nairi auni peenara ante  
iliare le ma'u nara etu ina liare panu  
liare.  
25  
  
30  
  
35  
  
40 Wadu pitu iliare le mara nara ipi  
riuunu salin tie ina panu tie iliare le  
hihi jotoa riuunu salini. To inaa  
umajaele te nēneta Jotoa. Hihi  
jotoa tinai aunu name le momoro le  
nahema'u le eme na ha ununan pai.  
45 Wertutun Werwain enēn tinai me

So the boat reached their native land, they took it into the anchorage of Ilikesi and went with their luggage to the house of their father and mother where they discovered that their father had been changed into coral-stone except his face, which had remained the same, while his mouth was still speaking. One of his sons, who had stayed with him, had also been transformed into coral-stone. While their father's mouth kept speaking the children got hungry and thought of looking for food, so they walked round the cape along the coast to find something to eat. When they arrived at Jalurun they saw a kerbau which was white behind. So they returned to the house in the village and told their father, but he answered that the animal should not be eaten; there was a certain ritual to which it belonged as food. So next day they left the village gate of Leunu and went as far as cape Mahen but they did not see anything, the only living beings there were caterpillars. They climbed to the top of the cape and came to Ilikesi but there too they saw caterpillars only, so they prayed: if these verily are nothing but caterpillars from flies' eggs, the land here shall be rotting when I come back after seven days; but if they are of any use, they shall have been transformed when I come back here. When they came back after seven days those thousands of caterpillars had been transformed into thousands of jotoa goats. That is the reason why from that time this island has been called Jotoa. They caught one of those goats and



- 1 kesi tara le akesi alarini. Inaa hihi  
jotoa tinaije panin nahama'i tono  
maluale Laur mara. Laur iro nara  
Wurkeliau Lolkeliau etu Lewenmali  
5 Asamali oo modo ada'uale adalare  
le ahūr hele kula pai. Wurkeliau  
Lolkeliau etu ihele kula tinai nau-  
tane: aate inoohai tono inaa modo  
modo tinairi iro? Lewenmali Asa-  
10 mali etu ene: Uruwadu ilas hatini  
nairi hatini to inta akaure tono inaa  
modo modo tinairi le apresin lowai  
lapai. Lewenmali Asamali ihele kula  
nautane: ite inoohaina? Iri ha Wur-  
15 keliau Lolkeliau ihelera asilene:  
inte italete jaure le itamusu naha  
modowai he ratwai he. Titono  
Wurkeliau Lolkeliau tono ihelera  
uste ahure le mara ene to wakuku.  
20 Asilene to aiwadu pai to uma lauare  
nara Wurkeliau Lolkeliau wakuku  
to nawarana pee. Aiwadu lori saile  
etu le iarani, Lolkeliau etu aiwadu  
pale le amutu. Lolkeliau tuhurai etu  
25 taja tono Lewenmali etu jamui leia  
samare pee. Tetu Lolkeliau Lewen-  
mali asilene: atoho ēhele pai to umu  
he! Iro tuhuru tie ine: aptaan paini  
mahune; inaije was pane. Uru  
30 eijeēn naa unāni le inaa ilasa nairi  
tinai me nahanawana pai, tetu modo  
atu nāni, tono hihi jotoa uda le eme  
lausana pai tono inaa Lewenmali  
Asamali tono hihi jotoa leura panini  
35 naware. Iliare le hinan nahemau  
pee nara Wurkeliau Lolkeliau hihi  
jotoa me le Lewenmali Asamali hei-  
naa pee, naha araene; jotoa adani  
jo āni riunu salini na'uni. Lewen-  
40 mali Asamali etu ihele ikula naweu  
sormata le matu hinani nara <sup>1)</sup>  
ma'u, ina ihai nara <sup>1)</sup> ma'u. Ser-  
leunu Sersoloto nalēre tute saka,

brought it to the house in the village  
for their parents to eat. What they  
had acquired in Wertutun Werwain  
was kept in its proper place and  
was worshipped. They did not  
know that the flesh of these goats  
was good to eat, therefore they  
went away to Lakor. When they  
arrived at Lakor, Wurkeliau and  
Lolkeliau at once went to meet  
Lewenmali and Asamali and their  
child and became friends with them.  
Then Wurkeliau and Lolkeliau  
asked their friends: what have  
you done to get this little one?  
Lewenmali and Asamali said: we  
have acted in accordance with the  
Creator's arrangement and in this  
way we have begotten this child,  
which is taller than we are. And  
then Lewenmali and Asamali asked  
their friends: how do you use to  
act that you have no child? Then  
Wurkeliau and Lolkeliau answered  
their friends: we sleep in a different  
way and we use to lick each other  
but we do not get children. For  
that reason Wurkeliau and Lolke-  
liau asked their friends to go with  
them to the village in order to teach  
them. They ordered to make a light  
because it was dark and Wurkeliau  
and Lolkeliau wanted to learn that  
they might be able to do it too.  
When the light was ready they  
went up into the house together  
Lolkeliau holding the lamp to light  
up the house. Lolkeliau's wife then  
lay down and Lewenmali lay down  
on her so that the loft almost broke  
down. Then Lolkeliau said to  
Lewenmali: do not kill your friend!  
But the woman said: what we use

<sup>1)</sup> Nara is here used with the meaning of because of, for the sake of; or: therefore, in these circumstances, see G. N. VIII § 2.



1 winanpau leupau ahale kono le  
momoro le nahemau. Lewenmali  
Asamali ma'u le inaha iro, matu ina  
panu nupuru amu iliare le nakan  
5 titlana. Lewenmali Asamali uma-  
jauele seri wakale to iumajaele  
loro Rupitali Wonara eme lolon  
seile, pai to irau itaan soli hirari, a  
ratuwa'i maran wa'i, ratu lause,  
10 maran lause, ihar na lause, hai na  
lause.

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Masamere tuhurka wata kuire iwa-  
35 ta pai. Ilusun tutre ira mara pēnu  
le Palkahi Pukmomour iro le Laka  
oonasi nara larmamata Mamere asi.  
Larmamata Mamere tai aahe le  
ma'u. Masamere etu asile ine: ue  
40 tonono aninamirai nara e! Tetu ratu  
eijeē apu itaahure. Nami te iliare,  
tuhur te iira lusun tutre le le nahe-  
mau. Le iro nara, Lewenmali Asa-  
mali odo naa tua pai le etu ma'u.

to do is bad; this is delicious! They  
stayed there two months teaching  
them thus and then the woman was  
pregnant, therefore they killed  
goats and gave a feast and there it  
was that Lewenmali and Asamali  
learned to know the deliciousness  
of goat-meat. When they were  
going back to their native land,  
Wurkeliau and Lolkeliau wanted to  
present them with goats, but Lewen-  
mali and Asamali did not accept  
them because, as they said, in Jotoa  
there were also thousands of them.  
Then Lewenmali and Asamali cor-  
dially took leave of their friends  
because they wanted to return to  
their native land and their parents.  
They arrived at Ilikesi, pulled their  
boat ashore and went with their  
luggage to the village. When  
Lewenmali and Asamali came to  
their father and mother they saw  
that the faces of their father and  
brother had also become coral-  
stone. Lewenmali and Asamali's  
country was hanging over and  
being flooded, so they pulled it  
straight by means of the ritual game  
of Rupitali Wonara, that their  
abode should be prosperous, that  
both the human beings and the  
animals should thrive and increase.  
Once their eldest daughter Masa-  
mere was combing and washing  
her hair. She went for water carry-  
ing her jar and, on her way back,  
when she had gone as far as  
Palkahi Pukmomour and looked in  
the direction of mountain Laka she  
saw the rainbow, named Mamere.  
Rainbow Mamere came towards  
her over the sea. Then Masamere  
said: may you become my husband!

- 1 Narai auni ha nami <sup>1)</sup> ti reute; tua  
 uste le tutu: ēnalerene <sup>2)</sup> te so ma-  
 natun isa pai; to ha nami te siake  
 waluru. Wadaun naa tuhur te ira  
 5 al mara pee le Palkahi Pukmou-  
 mour nanate le nami ti deru le woje:  
*Mai mai siae-siae miae mere siae-  
 siae mere Samere. Aikioko wali ma  
 eum mai tamreri* <sup>3)</sup>). Nami te wo ti  
 10 nawarware le etu uha kaimu, mu  
 kaiwatana lehu, wata saplana lehu  
 taijauele nere ma'u le tuhur asi.  
 Mede saile etu itananiahata. Nami  
 etu pēnu le Lakamara, tuhuru etu  
 15 iiralusun tutre le pēnu.

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- Ijoohai le lāna utu neru. Ha nami  
 etu inalerene mara mara ma'u ma'un  
 ti naware le idoro looro iire le ada-  
 30 hoko. Nami noonoo tie adahokon  
 pai nara, leren tie ira al mara.  
 Ma'ule ialuana ti iro etu wowoje le  
 nami ti al deru, etu namirai te al  
 ma'u irio nami te imudaa unaa ada-  
 35 hokon pai le wo nawarware. Ratu  
 eenapu mede saile matu nelu pai le  
 etai tono itaaltatane pee. Adaho-  
 kon pain tie etu le mara le ikarara  
 asile inaa lerene pai pain ti minnene  
 40 tetu namirara ratu pitu apu te etu  
 doro loor me le mara etun aluana  
 nanate. Nami kaka je ileren ti alu-

So those two became husband and wife. After this the man went back to his home and the woman returned to the village with her jar. When she arrived Lewenmali and Asamali were in the field, slicing koli, and afterwards they came home. An old woman betrayed it to her brothers; she asked for palmwine and drank: your sister, she said, is perhaps hiding something, so that the brothers became angry. One day the woman went again to fetch water and when she arrived at Palkahi Pukmoumour, she sang: *Samere come here, give me half of a ketupat, let us sit down together!* When the man heard that song he broke sugar-cane and took roasted pisang and young peeled coconuts and went on the surface of the sea to meet with the woman. After they had eaten they cohabited. Then the man went back to Laka and the woman returned to the village with her jar.

Thus she acted three times. Her brothers knew of her excursions; they sharpened their spears and swords and spied upon her. When the youngest brother was keeping watch, the sister went again to fetch water. When she arrived at the usual place she sang again to call the man and her husband again came, but her brother, while he was keeping watch, heard the song. When the two had eaten together they arranged to meet again after two days. The brother who was keeping watch then went to the village and told his elder brothers

<sup>1)</sup> Ha nami (father and brothers) is generally used with the meaning of brothers.

<sup>2)</sup> Nalerene — sister (lit. mother sister).

<sup>3)</sup> Not literally translatable. Archaic or partly foreign words.

- 1 ana nanate le larmamata ti deru  
wo ma'uhe. Nernana je aluana tal  
nanate le al deru iro ma'u he. Ner-  
nana je al deru wo ma'u he. Nami  
5 aunie al deru wo ma'u he. Unie  
al deru iro ma'u he. Unie al deru  
wo ma'u he. Nami noonoo je lar-  
mamata al deru le woje: *Mai mai  
siae-siae miae mere saie-siae mere*  
10 *Samere. Aikioko wali ma eum mai  
tamreri* iro larmamata etu tai ahahe  
le ma'u. Tetu namirara ratu pitu  
apu te uda nakun repele le sāsa  
aalamene. Saile etu namirara pemu  
15 le le mara. Wadu lauare leren tie  
ilusun tutre le ira mara le ietun  
nanate leule le nami ti deru wo  
ma'u he imudaa nohe naa namirara  
ma'u le deru le etu uda ro. Tuhur  
20 tie na'u derderu wo uhe to matu  
taja. Uparana nara namirai umu-  
ron tie ma'u le ine: eha enami je etu  
naware pai ro. Wadu pitu atono  
ma'u le uranasi panasi. Tuhur tie  
25 dūre le etu saure le matu le mara.
- 30
- 35
- 40 Wadu pitu iro tuhur tie ma'u le  
aluanat<sup>1)</sup> nahema'u le sās ti me  
uralure nara loor patun mamamuka

about the doings of their sister and then those seven brothers together took their weapons, went to the meeting-place and stood there waiting. The eldest brother stood on the spot where his sister used to stand and called the rainbow with the song, but he did not come. The next brother stood on that spot, but when he too had called, the rainbow again did not come. The next then called singing, but he did not come. One more called singing, he did not come. Again, another called, he did not come. Another called, he did not come. Then, once more, the youngest brother called and when he had sung: *Samere, come here, give me half of a ketupat, let us sit down together*, the rainbow came over the surface of the sea. Then the seven brothers killed him and chopped him to small pieces and threw them among the fallen leaves. After this they went back home. When it was getting dark the sister went with her jar to fetch water and in the usual place stood still and called the man with her song but he did not come because her brothers had already come in the morning and called and killed him. The woman called and called but in vain, until finally she fell asleep. In her dream her dead husband came to her and said: your brothers have deceived me. After seven days you must come back here and look about. The woman rose, weeping, and went home. When seven days had passed the woman returned to that place and when she had removed those fallen

<sup>1)</sup> Aluana tie.

- 1 ta unnahere; tetu horote le le mara.  
Inaa loor patun tie eme le inami  
kakara ti tuhurai ira. Leren tie ine:  
ante ituhurai ira le was kajare to ite  
5 mara ada atare le ma'u to ante  
ikurin huje. Atare le ma'u wo dol-  
doli to al kasaru to mara ali atare.  
Namirara te ileren ti deru to mara  
ada sisinasi iro on doldoli. Ani na-  
10 mirara je mara le ali atare; on  
doldoli tetu mara le ali atare. Na-  
mirara te ileren ti alderu, ma'u le  
sisinasi. Ma'u le sisinasi; jāni lapa-  
ne ro haetu mara le itua hala pai  
15 ha ante uraa imemraka <sup>1)</sup> pai.

20

- 25 Wadu untatarjete leren tie etu ada  
tutun ti narapa. Ioro, katama, ilhu-  
alita, wetwetur, winampau leupau  
loor patun rian ti me ada ialaike.  
30 Uraa ilita salne le etu ada mud'-  
wakle le adatau nere le lēne jamui  
tono larmamata adatau oonen tiri.  
Inaie to larmamata tuhuru, mem-  
raka tie ta nami. Tuhur noonoo  
35 Hualalohoutkodo uthohone le nami  
noonoo tie ta nadiaka.  
Nohidai je da'uru naa mudhemau  
le amaru tetu modatnāni. Ha nami  
je odotaa taja nara lerene susu je  
40 iaruhu. Ha nami je here le amu'e.  
Le susu raai! Ma nami aun me ta-  
wanasi he ha adaa apileren modat-

leaves she found only swords lying  
about there; so she tied them  
together and carried them home.  
She used those swords to pay the  
bride-price for her elder brothers'  
wives. She said: I have wearied my-  
self out to pay your wives' bride-  
price, therefore you ought to chop  
wood and carry it to me, I want to  
boil bark. They chopped wood and  
came back but it was too little, so  
she ordered them to go again and  
chop more. The brothers called their  
sister, that she should go and look  
at the wood, but it was still too  
little. Then the brothers again went  
and chopped more; it was still too  
little, so they went and chopped  
still more. The brothers called their  
sister, she came and looked at the  
wood. She came and looked; now,  
she said, it is really much; now you  
may go to make sageru and to work  
in the garden, and I shall dye red  
your yarn afterwards.

When the sun was at its height,  
the sister burned that pile of wood.  
Her weaving-tools, her belongings,  
and what was left of the swords  
she threw into the fire. And  
then finally, with her sirih-pouch  
hanging at her arm, she herself  
jumped into the fire and together  
with the smoke rose up to the sky  
and this is the rainbow which is  
like smoke. This is the female rain-  
bow, the red one is the male. The  
youngest sister, named Hualaloho  
was then concealed and the young-  
est brother was to keep watch  
over her.

It happened that a certain man, No-

<sup>1)</sup> As *i-* is used as possessive prefix for all persons *imenraka* may mean either your yarn or my yarn.

- 1 nani raai! Noo nami ta nadiaka to  
aiti so maumau lapur mudusa-  
ware <sup>1)</sup>).
- 5
- 10
- Tetu kakara tie doro looro iire,  
15 ileren ti deru le houte to ahure le  
Wa'uware wēre mara. Mudua <sup>2)</sup>  
nami noonoo tie lukun me mudhai:  
mara to <sup>3)</sup> ēnami kakara je euare  
nara atoho irapale; ante euare nara  
20 maski edarjee uheto elau oohira  
adkeile nara ato <sup>4)</sup> irapale. Wa'u-  
wara wēre iro etu kakara ileren ti  
uare o unarapale he. Nami noonoo  
īdoro me ilaike lerene etu unarapale.  
25 Kakara etu ine: umanta maro uda  
nara matono sekte loire, ha inut le  
mara. Uraa nami noonoo te ikarara  
tnere <sup>5)</sup> le le mara pa'e. Ianaa <sup>6)</sup>  
ikarara tnautane <sup>7)</sup>: īte aneti tar-  
30 tara mete hanaha? Umanta ēten-  
lokon pai pee to eeti tartara mete  
pana! Ō, ante malpe to ante pēnu  
le eme ti. Ileren ti iro matu uma  
kaure le eme mudume le auana me  
35 utserkede. Saile matu ikarara nere  
le le mara. Alnahai ētai matu tehere  
minjēte le titti liare <sup>8)</sup> asakila dada-

hidai, entered through the window and slept with the girl, so that she became pregnant. As her brothers were sleeping underneath their sister's milk trickled down on them. The brothers washed it away and smelled it. This is milk, indeed! they said. Surely there has no man been with her but how can our sister have become pregnant, indeed! Our youngest brother is keeping watch over her, so perhaps the cat has defecated between the fire-stones. Then the elder brothers sharpened their spears and swords and told their sister to descend in order to go with them to a pit named Wa'uware. In the meantime the youngest brother gave her this advice: when your elder brothers stab at you, do not fall down; when I stab at you, and the rim of your sarung is just caught, fall down, even though you yourself are not touched at all. When they had arrived at the pit Wa'uware the elder brothers stabbed but she did not fall down. The youngest brother threw his spear and then the sister fell down. Then the elder brothers said: he who has killed her, must also bury her, but we are going home. Afterwards the youngest brother followed his elder brothers to go home. On the way he asked his elder brothers: did you perhaps take my chisel and adze along with

<sup>1)</sup> This is an expression for committing incest.

<sup>2)</sup> Muduaa.

<sup>3)</sup> Mara to — are going to, are trying to.

<sup>4)</sup> Ato is perhaps an abbreviation of atono.

<sup>5)</sup> Tie nere.

<sup>6)</sup> Iar naa.

<sup>7)</sup> Tie nautane.

<sup>8)</sup> The meaning of liare is not clear here.

- 1 re mara ileren umakaurana ti lause  
pane aanuta aapere. Alnahai nohe  
etu al maluale titti asakila anaje  
pee le wēre oonhe mara daran jamui  
5 le mara Loronwisi<sup>1)</sup> iro nara  
deleara uani le unanate koho pitu-  
eeni.

10

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- Ina'ie jajani. Ethaini ina'ie ina'-  
25 ununan nara ante eme le odo mara  
manatu to aja houte nara ante mesi  
to amu āni nara animodoleren<sup>2)</sup>  
una. Uru uha etu leren te mīre le  
modo je tuhuru nēneje Surihi. Wa-  
30 du wadu nanuha le nami te mara  
titti asakila anaje le eme ileren oo  
modo ti lause pane. Modo te lapai,  
majani auni ihile le odothe na te  
kasaru: mara le anmodoha anaje.  
35 Iro majani te ine: ante easamodo  
aunu na'u me he o ateanharare-  
sare. Hoho tatara ihile le odothe ali  
uste: ate mara le anmodoha anaje.  
Iro ine: ante emerai, nauana, kal-  
40 kali ta'unu<sup>3)</sup> na'u nauahe o ate-  
anharare-sare; to ante mara emo-

you? Who should want to work  
with them, that he should take your  
chisel and adze, they answered.  
Well, perhaps I left them behind,  
so I had better go back to fetch  
them. When he arrived at the place  
where his sister was, he dug a hole  
in the ground, put her into it and  
covered it with a board. When he  
had done this he followed his elder  
brothers and went home. On the  
following day and the next he  
roamed about in the mountains  
catching crickets and grasshoppers  
and then went to his sister in the  
earth-hole and fed her. Next day  
early he went out again to look for  
crickets and grasshoppers and,  
going in the direction of the pit,  
climbed the mountain, and when  
he arrived at cape Mahen, he  
saw a maize plant with seven cobs.  
This is fine, he said. If this is  
something eatable, I shall take it  
along to the gardens and keep it,  
and when the rain comes, plant it,  
and, when it is ripe, I shall feed my  
sister's child with it. When it was  
full moon, the sister gave birth to a  
girl, named Surihi. Every day the  
man went to collect crickets and  
grasshoppers and took them to his  
sister and her child to feed them.  
When the child was big, his mother  
told a sparrow-hawk, who was  
flying overhead: go and fetch my  
child's father. But the sparrow-  
hawk said: I never grab any of your  
chickens, yet you revile me. Again,  
she begged a turtle-dove, who was  
flying overhead: go and fetch my

<sup>1)</sup> The present-day name of cape Loronwisi is Mahen.

<sup>2)</sup> About animodoleren instead of an(i)lerenmodo see G. N. p.

<sup>3)</sup> Tie aunu.

- 1 doha anaje he. Wada'un <sup>1)</sup> naa asa taraleu memraka aunie narunu ti itaa suisuile uma ēru kukukruke. Tetu modot na tie dele asinana
- 5 tinai duu le tapu pitueen ti me le sohu: ethaini anmodo tie ratupain pee nara ante inaa dele pitueenapu tinai me inaa asa taraleu mimiraka ti odohutrau ha ma so je una le
- 10 matu ihile le mara anmodoha anaje. Tapu aunu roki, iamiri tihale letu ihile lo lodon tie ta alana ia <sup>2)</sup> lapai to nerele jamui le no daran ianini mara le oomanlau namire letu
- 15 kukruke: *Kukuruku! No'ihidai! Hualaloho ia kehe-kehe tana kehe-kehe uma mudumire!* Al panwakle le momor ultua naa nunu ianihile le iamir tihale kukruke: *Kukuruku!*
- 20 *No'ihidai! Hualaloho ia kehe-kehe tana kehe-kehe uma mudumire!* No'ihidai le pai le ahoroke to momor aalamana te asa kukruken ti wari he. Narai lailaite aunu ta leul ti ut-
- 25 hae le ine: leulu ti etekaure le warware asa unie kukruke le No'ihidai oo Hualaloho naraume. Tetu warware nara asa tetu kukruke: *Kukuruku! No'ihidai! Hualaloho ia*
- 30 *kehe-kehe tana kehe-kehe uma mudumire!* Awarware saile etu ine: aiti so no aranini naa nisa'auni. Tuhur tie aiti so no aranini naa nisa'isa me eteuale. Tetu No'ihidai
- 35 tu asa tinai kasarua to ihile le houte le no aranini mara uma kaurana tmara le uma ēru. No'ihidai imomor aalamana me punderu, tuhur tinai ulawara weltaru omose to tuhur lau
- 40 eijeene, modo tinai hinana tuhur lau auni. No'ihidai oo momor aalamana etu paki tinai ahure le houte

child's father. But he said: I never eat your maize, millet, rice or katjang, yet you revile me; therefore I shall not go and fetch your child's father. Once a red cock was scratching the ground near the hole, crowing. Then the child's mother threw down seven grains of that maize which she had received and pronounced this wish: if my child is a divine being, then, if I throw seven grains of this maize to that red cock, he will eat and then fly away to fetch my child's father. After picking up one grain the cock flapped his wings, flew away and climbed the storey above the earth along a rotan like a great road and, when he arrived at the village gateway, sat down and crew: *Kukuruku! No'ihidai! Hualaloho is sitting under the ground with her feet and hands tied!* Then he flew on and alighted on the waringin in the centre of the village and then, flapping his wings crew again: *Kukuruku! No'ihidai! Hualaloho is sitting under the ground with her feet and hands tied!* The people of the village were building a house for No'ihidai and there was a porka-feast so that they did not hear the crowing cock. One old woman of standing heard it and made them stop singing, saying: stop singing and listen to the crowing of a cock who is mentioning No'ihidai and Hualaloho. So they listened and then the cock crew: *Kukuruku! No'ihidai! Hualaloho is sitting under the ground with her feet and hands tied!* When he had listened to it,

<sup>1)</sup> Wadu aun.

<sup>2)</sup> Iar.



- 1 eme tuhuru modo ti narasa le ahur  
no ianin mara. Kaskoi ratu mara o  
natara mamuka matu no daran ianin  
mara ro, to nami sesele saure:  
5 anleren, anmodo leren inamara!  
Wadu nanuha le asakila dadare,  
titti liare, iatuele naataru. Ia lapai  
wat lapai hihirene nerele ma'u Lo-  
donara iro unaa kuikuiwari asi to  
10 iwouwou me tapa pee amu saile  
odotrapa he. Inar mara le ikarara  
wouwou amu uste le ma'u tapa.  
Eterapa le no daran ianin naa  
lerene wade-waden mudurapale.  
15 Modo leren tie tilue le mara wade-  
waden mudaa wouwou amu asi.  
Matu wouwou amu tinai me le ma'u  
ina naratrene; naje epu nara saisai  
taani. Nooje mara le wouwou amu  
20 mulenana ti me ikarara asile koto  
nara karara ma waikē: āni wouwou  
amu te ira tai lauara, ada lairana  
muduni jo anaje le eme ma'u. Tetu  
isunu iinawaja nawa le mara Lodo-  
25 nara mara unaa isohu: ankarara  
wouwou amu anut pai mule to an-  
waikē, to ante no ianini mara le  
anaje pee. Ethaini ante ratu pain  
he pee nara ante ime ia'uare ante  
30 urarapale ia tairepu umu. Ara ante  
ratu pain peenara ante ime ia'uare,  
halse hakane no ianini muduuale  
wouwou amu anaje. Etu ime ia'uare  
tahitahi halse hakane ia lapai nere  
35 le mara no ianini daran ianin naa  
oomanlau utumire nara ihara koure.  
To momor aalamana ma'u ēpu, iro  
aha n'ēpu<sup>1)</sup> he, tetu itaasileene  
kasa kasarū to mara no aranin  
40 tuhur asilene; to ma'u le epu nara  
ha nami eme rono jawanini, to  
iwata me ipanu utu sasu le saure,  
ahurele le mara ira pai le eme ina

he said: perhaps there is something under the earth. Perhaps that woman under the earth has committed a fault. So No'ihidai told the cock to fly down under the earth to the hole and scratch the ground. No'ihidai called together the people of the village and there were prepared two sarung as clothing for the woman and one sarung as swaddling-cloth for the child. No'ihidai and the people of the village together descended and gave those clothes to the woman and the child to wear and then went to the upperworld with them. The noble Kaskoi went to her abode but it was empty because she had already gone to the upperworld, so her brother wailed: where have they gone, my sister and her child! Yet he kept going every day to catch crickets and grasshoppers for her living. He followed the great open road until he arrived at Lodonara and there he saw a tjui-nest and wanted to shoot the bird with his blow-gun but he did not hit it and lost his arrow. Therefore he went to his elder brothers, asked them for another arrow and came back to shoot it. He missed it and the arrow fell down on his sister's drying-field in the upperworld. His sister's child went there to play and saw the arrow in the drying-field. She picked it up and went to show it to her mother; her mother recognized it as her brother's. Her younger brother went to his elder brothers and told them that the blow-gun arrow had disappeared but they ordered him to go after it: even if the arrow is

<sup>1)</sup> Euphonic *n*.



1 tutu. Naha namrai ode mara to  
mane le inami ti ahure le mara hai-  
kodo muduume le pēnu imodo  
nerenjēte isun inawaja <sup>1)</sup> nawa.

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Iro namrai tua lehu le ode naa  
ma'u, tuhur tinai deru wo isunu ina-  
waja nawa tetu namrai nautane:  
40 naha wadi eilas nairi ioone he, wa-  
dini jejhaine; eirimi haini ta easile  
nisaun ne naha? Iro ene nara uhe.  
Nae momora aalamana ta ēasile

in the deep sea or in the blazing  
fire you have to fetch it and to  
bring it back. Then the younger  
brother wept bitterly and went and  
when he came to Lodonara he  
prayed: I have made away with my  
elder brothers' blow-gun arrow, so  
I am looking for it and I want to go  
to the upperworld to fetch it. If I am  
not of divine origin, I shall fall  
down and break my feet and die.  
when I try to jump up to the upper-  
world. But when I am really your  
creature, I shall float into the upper-  
world and get the blow-gun arrow,  
when I jump up. Then he jumped  
and he truly floated along the great  
road into the upperworld and sat  
down in front of the village gate-  
way so that the dogs barked. So the  
people of the village came to look  
at him but they did not know him  
and said to each other: tell the wo-  
man from the earth to come here;  
so she came and recognized him as  
her brother who had taken care of  
her; then she loosened her hair and  
covered her face with it and wept,  
and they went together to the house  
and she gave her brother food and  
drink. As she was afraid of her  
husband who had gone to the  
garden, she went away with her  
brother and put him into a pigsty,  
and then went back and lay down  
near her child, weeping bitterly.

When her husband came from  
the field carrying sageru he called  
the woman, but she wept, so the  
husband asked: you have never  
behaved like this, but now it is  
otherwise; perhaps your parents-  
in-law have been saying anything

<sup>1)</sup> Isunu inawaja.

- 1 lukun mahunana isa ne naha? Iro tatanluku le uhe. Inara inahai tono atono sauren tiri? Tatanluku le ene nara: anha annami anme rono jawanini ta ma'u naha ante emane le anutu eme haikodo muduume. Ha, inahai to ēta ratu ina'i me hai naree le eme haikodo muduume na! Ate dawar taan pai; mara le ahur ma'u!
- 10 Inar tono mara le ahur ma'u le muduhema'u. Leren je ira haise le ma'u musa wau, meden huje, hai tirio nāme le uda saki to apra je eme inami lause pane. Wata losiri
- 15 laje eme aitoto pai, lawar ina le aitoto oo hai apra ti me lawar po'e le eme inami ti waalesere. Wouwou amu ti me tana muduni le kasaru to no aranin mara pee naha nou naku:
- 20 ate mara le ikarara iro nara inaa ewaalesere tie ējejen tono una. Tourie maro roro jajawanin euste atoho eme ina. Etu ia lapai wat lapai nere le houte le momor jamoi.
- 25 Kakara leja soli, noonoo kodo soli. Kakaraje iwata titilana seke le una rekreku; iri noonoo ileura opo kise rekreku opo ti me arasaie to ihara eme itaseile itakarare wisu. Kakara
- 30 inoo nautane: noo; ēta inanaa leura medene jajani asile una <sup>1)</sup>? Isame inina. Noo etu tatan luku: ante maro na leren halini. Apleren ratu eene: kakaje ime ada eru jamoi,
- 35 noonoo etu uda ro. Anta inamudaa meden leura jajani asi pa. Iro kakara tu tawa nahure le meden leura ti ahiana. Aiti roro ate apilerene manatu kadane nahana to medene
- 40 leura jajani ma'u einina. Ethaini ate apilerene manatu to ot aunu nāni tartei ate al mara pee nara ene to apte mara. Apleren ie no ianini nāni

to you? But she answered no. Or have the people of the village been saying something bad to you? But she answered no. Then why do you weep continually? Then she answered: my younger brother who has been taking care of me has come, but I was afraid of you and therefore I have hidden him in a pigsty. For shame, how could you treat this man of noble blood like a pig and put him in a pigsty! You have acted rudely; go and bring him here! So she went and brought him into the house. The sister drew water, bathed him, cooked rice and they also caught and killed a pig and one half of it was used to feast her brother. They had coco-palm leaves cut and a ketupat made, she plaited a basket and put the ketupat and the other half of the pig into it and gave this to her brother as provision. They also handed the blow-gun arrow to him and let him go back to the earth after instructing him as follows: when you arrive at your elder brothers' house, you yourself only must eat these provisions. When other people, even if they are good, ask you for it, do not give it. Then he descended along the great road and climbed into the house. His elder brothers inhabited the loft, the youngest brother inhabited the roof-attic. The elder brothers ate dry coconuts; but the youngest brother had meat and bones and he threw the bones down under the floor and the dogs were fighting for them and biting each other. The elder brothers asked their younger brother: whence did

<sup>1)</sup> Asile una — get to eat.

- 1 ha ante mara le ane to ante ma'u le  
ene tonono aptono mara sura waaru.  
Etmara <sup>1)</sup> le ileren asi iwajana asi  
le ikarara noun ti me ileren asile  
5 minene tetu nelu wadu mina <sup>2)</sup>  
wadu pitu wanat pitu.

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- Wadu wanat ti uha matu ma'ueere.  
30 Tetu houte le momor le nahemau  
le ikarara asilene le laune Wertu-  
tun Werwain enen hati leren oopaa  
kono le eme jamoi. Noonoo je iseri  
idari mete, kakaje ede ioone, le  
35 Wertutun Werwain tie lerene oo-  
paa mete. Ia lapai wat lapai iro  
ikarara me umar kasaru naha karara  
je iar nahamai. To inoo kasaru to  
umare tetu karara neren suhale le  
40 no ianin mara. Oomanlau iro naa le  
kakara me umar kasaru tetu ilerene  
le ara iro, kakara weljete, noonoo  
je tenenjete.

<sup>1)</sup> Etu mara.

<sup>2)</sup> Eme ina.

you get good food with meat? Give us part of it. But the youngest brother answered: I have no mother or sister. We had two sisters: the eldest has thrown herself into the bale-fire; the youngest has been killed. Whence, then, should I get good food and meat. But the elder brothers rushed at him together and robbed his food. Perhaps, they said, you are keeping our sister hidden and perhaps she always brings you good food. If there is a place where you are keeping her hidden, then let us know when you are going there again, that we may go with you. Our sister, he said, is in the upper-world; I shall go first to transmit your wish, then I shall come back to tell you about it and then we shall visit her together. So he went to his sister and his brother-in-law and gave his sister the message of his elder brothers and it was arranged that the visit should take place after seven days and seven nights. After these seven days they should come together. Then he descended to the village, entered the house and informed his brothers and they resolved to take their sister's share in the treasure from Wertutun Werwain with them to the upperworld. The youngest brother took his hosts with him and so did the elder brothers and they also took their sister's share from Wertutun Werwain. When they arrived at the great road the youngest brother told his elder brothers to go in front, but the elder brothers did not know the way. So the youngest brother was told to go in

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- Leren tie lau rikriki mete, rain rikriki mete, sarawaata karakarare le inapia kairoko le aalamene le mara inami kakara tatane sormata aweu sare. Pēnu inusa iwata pai sulmata, laran lau, rain lapai inarasa, lewer sarawaata hua malu uurara makai-roko<sup>1)</sup> le inami noonoo oo seri dari utunu tauru tatane sormata aweu sare. Saile lerene tie inami kakara oo seri dari utunu tauru deru le eme aluana awene mahunana kaparana aderu asura amire anate. Iliare le inami noonoo oo seri dari utunu tauru iro le deru to ma'u le aluana awene jawanin nasura naderu amire anate. Momoro alamana me pun-deru ira meden me punu le huje. Ira meden tie patu etu hihi hai uda le huje. Ira meden mahumahunana leura mahumahunana me kakara hiahara mariada lause pane. Noonoo oo seri dari utunu taurie, ie kalkali ta'unu jajani, mina lolos jajani me hiahara mariada lause pane. Hiaharan mariadan pai saile etu naleren<sup>2)</sup> iselre lau karakararana, rain karakararana, sarawaat karakararana, le inapia kairoko le sarawaat aalamene le mara sare. Saile iliare iselre laran lau, rain lapai me inarasa, wata o paito sulmata, hua

front whereas the elder brothers followed and together with their hosts they came streaming into the upperworld. When they arrived at the village gateway, the youngest brother let his elder brothers go in front and they marched on to their sister's house and there the elder brothers stood on the left side and the youngest on the right side.

The sister put on a sarung in rags, a kebaja in rags, she took a ragged and worn sirih-bag and filled it with pieces of palm-leaf ribs and then she went to meet her elder brothers, welcomed and greeted them and offered them her sirih-bag. Then she went back, bathed and washed her hair so that it gleamed, dressed in a festive sarung and a fine, large kebaja, broke fresh sirih and pinang and put it in a new, rustling sirih-bag and then went to meet her youngest brother with his hosts, welcomed and greeted them and offered them sirih. After this she showed her elder brothers and their hosts a very bad place and invited them to stay there. Then she returned and summoned her youngest brother with his hosts and invited them to stay in a very good place. She called the people of the village together and had food collected and cooked. Drink and food was prepared and goats and pigs were killed and cooked. The elder brothers were feasted with very bad drink and food, very bad meat. The youngest brother and his hosts were feasted with good rice and katjang, with

1) Eme akairoko.

2) Naleren (mother sister) instead of leren (sister).

- 1 uurara, malu uurara me lewer sara-  
waata na <sup>1)</sup> kairoko mara le inami  
noonoo, seri dari utunu tauru sare.  
Noihidai oo tuhurai etu Kaskui ratu  
5 ti deru le muduhemara to loor tei  
doro tei wili riun tala riun me ina  
nou naku: watini inte hihi karhou  
me iheinaa. Inte ia teptepnana, ina  
kuikuisana me ēkarara heinaa, ia  
10 lolonhaini, inamodo lolonhaini me  
ēheinaa. Īte ia lapai wat lapai naa  
houte pee nara ate itaan me ēkarara  
taan ti sianoure le umare houte  
ēseri dari utun tauru o sianumare.  
15 Houte le lodonara ti iro nara, ura-  
rake le iseri dari utun tauru nau-  
tane: tu houte roe onhalie? Iro  
utunu tauru seri dari ine: api taana  
tu houte ro. Tetu Kaskui ratu iloor  
20 tei ahamu le lodonara ti uturepele  
to lēne lapai etu kakara ahure le  
medaimara, noonoo iseri dari utunu  
tauru hihi karhou ahure le uma-  
jauele momoro le soli hirari. Inaa  
25 wadu ti naa tonono Kaskui ratu etu  
ikarara tuhurai ahure. Wadu uma-  
rana wanat umarana naa lodono tie  
inaa umamodo eteren nānihe. Inaa  
lodon ti utrepele tonono ihi saike  
30 auoro uma eterene ajarene naa tonono  
lause, inaa etu uhe. Tinara tulalu  
iro nara punrane le ilas nairi pai to  
ratu lause marana lause hihi na  
karhou wo lause. Kaskui ratu nu-  
35 naa enenara matu ikatuhurai ahure  
to ratu wa'i, ratu lause maran lause.  
Unaslai Daraslai wa'i to Eter ta  
ahure Tetikai Mauara. Horokoko  
Laiwahan tuhurai je Romolewen  
40 Wakalewen. Horokoko Eter mara  
ilerenara sura, Laiwahan nie kaka  
tuhurai oo ituhurai tawanahure.  
Wadu wanata maramara Horokoko

excellent pork. When the entertain-  
ment was finished the sister put  
on a very shabby sarung, a very  
shabby kebaja, she took a ragged  
and worn sirih-bag and filled it  
with pieces of palm-leaf ribs and  
then she went and offered sirih to  
her elder brothers. After this, again,  
she dressed in a festive sarung and  
a fine, large kebaja, also washed  
her hair so that it gleamed, broke  
fresh pinang, broke fresh sirih and  
put it in a new, rustling sirih-bag,  
then went and offered sirih to her  
youngest brother and his hosts.  
Noihidai and his wife invited  
Kaskui to enter the house and  
presented him with a sacred sword,  
a sacred spear and thousand  
jingling-bells, while they told him:  
Now we present you and your  
brothers with goats, sheep, and  
horned cattle. To your elder  
brothers we give beasts with broken  
feet and blind eyes, but your  
present are beasts with good feet  
and healthy eyes. When you and  
your brothers arrive at the great  
road and are going to descend, you  
must drive your beasts in front of  
your brothers' and descend first  
and your hosts too should descend  
first. When they had descended by  
the rotan-tree, Kaskui looked back  
and asked his hosts: have you  
descended, all of you, or not yet?  
And the hosts answered: all of us  
have descended. Then Kaskui drew  
his sacred sword and cut the rotan  
tree in two, so that the large sky  
with the elder brothers went up and  
the youngest brother, with his hosts  
and his goats, sheep, and horned

<sup>1)</sup> Naa.

- 1 Eter naa pēnu. Ia naa koi (inaa koi tie Horokoko taani) etu tatane le lere aamire. Koi tinaije luku: Horokoko, ēnoo matu ētuhurai me ituhurai tawa me. Lukun te saile matu ihile le le nahemau. Losu wo matu ma'u Sersolot nalēre. Horokoko te koi ti lukun tinai me ikirakira isatapu nāni to lēre matu ilooro iire
- 10 kēsu le le mara. Le iro nara Laiwahan ultua jēte, tuhurai ratu eenapu tie ūn tenenjēte un weljēte. Horokoko isa tu malare to ituhurai ti me walenlere le iloor ahamu le
- 15 eme Laiwahana mani uturepele ha ūnu toho odotrēle he. Horokoko matu hahan tie ma'unnajete ha jaitapulu ti me le sere mara eme dau aluana, hulukar, ultua muduni panu
- 20 medehane. Le naa tuhurai tie tēle nara we etu liha ha enenara muluana. Urakaure pankare hahan ti odotkare tetu itasdure le lē pai to ara itasnōre, ine: eh! umanta Laiwahan mani me! Uma te janin ara
- 25 losu ma'unu etu hihite. Tuhurai rateen apu te aahai le eme sere mara. Sere iro Horokoko ituhurai kasarū to hulukar sura le malu
- 30 koron me le tour ina to tia pee nara malu hali. Iro nami tie ene to itin sura nara panu aanasi. Īwata me ipanu ese sasu le saure iro nami etu uda pee. Tuhurai rateen apu te etu
- 35 le mara pee, ianaa tuhur ka tetu noonoo me ura kasarū le ine: anta pai to sala. Kaka te hulukar ti mete le le mara. Le iro hulukar ti me unarau, odo saisor me le eme kere ara
- 40 saisoore, ohi me le isa tono eme saisooren ti naa ahauare tetu hahakeni. Le jamoi le hahan ti me le uru tnaa <sup>1)</sup> arasure winanpau leupau,

beasts settled down for good in the village on the earth. On that day the noble Kaskui married with his elder brothers' wives. In former times the rotan did not grow on the surrounding small islands. When the rotan had been cut in two it strew about its fruits on the surrounding islands so that it multiplied there, but here it does not grow any more. Henceforth on festive days they assembled to perform the rites, that human beings and cattle might thrive and multiply. Kaskui, of whom has been mentioned that he married his elder brothers' wives, begot children and his familie increased. His daughters Unaslai and Daraslai married with Tetikai and Mauara in Wetar. His sons Horokoko and Laiwahan married with Romolewen and Wakalewen. Horokoko went to Wetar to visit his sisters, and during his absence Laiwahan married his elder brother's wife in addition to his own. After some time Horokoko returned from Wetar. On the way a dove (this dove belonged to Horokoko) came to meet him and alighted on the mast. That dove spoke: Horokoko, your younger brother has taken your wife besides his own wife. When he had spoken thus, he flew away, back home. The boat then arrived in the harbour Ilikesi and anchored. Horokoko kept the dove's words in his heart and grieved, and he sharpened his sword and put it in his belt. When he came to the house Laiwahan was lying in the middle with one wife at his right and one at his left side.

<sup>1)</sup> Tinaa.

1 oro, katama, utnutan, hehese, ilhu-  
 alita, wetwetur, an'ka'i, kete, eme  
 nerenwaje. Saile tonu Romolewen  
 5 etu ime hahan, winanpau leupau  
 ti nerenwaje.

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Horokoko's heart filled with anger, he rolled the wives aside, drew his sword and cut Laiwahan's throat and none of them noticed it. Horokoko left the headless corpse lying there but took the head to the coast, to the place where plates were put away and left it there, with its face turned upwards, between plates. When the women in the house woke up because they bathed in blood, they thought it was sweat. They groped about and their hands felt the headless body; then they both rose, made light and wept, wailing: ah! who has cut Laiwahan's throat! When it was clear daylight they learned that a boat had arrived. So the two women cooked food and went to the coast. When they came there, Horokoko ordered his wife to go to the basket with jars and plates and take fresh sirih out of it for the people to chew, but there was no sirih. But her husband told her to look for it on the bottom and then she saw the face looking into hers. Then she covered her face with her hairs and wept, but her husband threatened to kill her. So the two women wanted to go back home, and on the way the eldest woman sent the youngest back, saying: I am the one who has sinned. The first wife then took the basket along with her to the house. When she arrived at the house she put the basket down, scraped the ground at the foot of the ladder in the house with an ivory comb, heathened the point of an awl and pricked in the place that had been scraped, which then became a large hole. She went up to the loft with the corpse and then let go all her



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- 5 Sere na<sup>1)</sup> hoana ma'u wo le etu mamuka, kereara hahakene. Horokoko oo Wakalewen etu le soli hirari. Laiwahan oo Romolewen pukaunu tinaije iliare le here here
- 10 tiri. Here, here tie uru mudaa mal-rane iro le oowara tie eme aralure le uaraha me utserkede le aiti iri tu me houte jamoi.

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- Apna-Apha iumajaele warjauele mederitimu pai titlene, Lewenmali
- 20 Asamali me mesau me itaan soli hirari lunte miatene. Wanat aun naa Deliaman Pajaman ada je Pukmomor Palkahi loraa kilakilate le ma'u Kukumoumour<sup>2)</sup> Palkahi
- 25 namire. Lewenmali Asamali nautane: āte inanaa ma'u? Īne: ante inaunāni<sup>3)</sup> antoho uma aun sere aun naa ma'u he. Ī, ante loraa eada kilakilatana asi tono antono ma'u
- 30 le eodottuale odotlare to ate uma oowaja he, anta uma oowaja — iro araene. Tono Lewenmali Asamali asilene: ate uma oowara nara, āna annēne naraume, inaa ili lapai ti
- 35 uate le uma tapale; ate naware āni naraume, inaa ili lapai te kaune nara, ate uma oowaja tahi-tahini. Iro Deliaman Pajaman inahamain ne, ili lapai ti me medenuate, wite
- 40 he. Tono Lewenmali Asamali ili lapai tinaije tana uani me medenuate to halse hakane le tono houte le

<sup>1)</sup> Naa.

<sup>2)</sup> Kukumoumour = Pukmomor.

<sup>3)</sup> See Vocabulary s.v. ina 3.

weaving-tools and other belongings down into the hole. When this had been done, Romolewen herself went after them with the corpse.

When the people came back from the coast they found the house empty and there was a hole near the foot of the ladder. Horokoko and Wakalewen settled down in the house. The corpses of Laiwahan and Romolewen became kenaricrabs. Those crabs were going in and out and therefore the master of the house brushed them back into the hole and shut the hole with a big stone and thus it has remained until the present day.

The Creator had made the earth dry and Lewenmali and Asamali had settled on it for good. One night the fire of Deliaman and Pajaman was glittering on the sea off Pukmomor Palkahi and they came to Kukumoumour Palkahi and sat down there. Lewenmali and Asamali asked: whence have you come? They said: we are living here, we have not come from another island. Well, but we have seen your fire glittering on the sea, and that made us come to meet you; so you are not the masters of this land, but we are — however, they did not acknowledge it. Then Lewenmali and Asamali said: if you are the masters of the land, mention our name, lift this big stone and fling it on the ground; if you are able to mention the name, if this big stone is broken, then you are truly the masters of the land. But Deliaman and Pajaman could not say it, they



- 1 irau maduere; nēnei jo araume. Iri  
tono Deliaman Pajaman ine: tahi  
tahi ēta uma oowara. Lewenmali  
Asamali etu Deliaman Pajaman  
5 kasarū to maluhemara pee. Naha  
araene le Lewenmali Asamali uste  
to pupuru hinan patu umajauēle  
wariauele soli hirari. Lewenmali  
Asamali araene he, anisahanate to  
10 etu pupuru inaa hinan soli; paki me  
ina momoro me aratrene nēneta  
Jotojaumu. Naha momor miri tie  
ono lihanu nēre. Lewenmali Asamali  
Deliaman Pajaman asilene: ate āna  
15 inaa aluana tinai medenami to an-  
momor tinai oone nara so aputu  
ināni, ara uhe ātu malhemara. Naha  
matu aluana tinai me mederitmu to  
Lewenmali Asamali momor tinai sia  
20 lowai pee. Tono Lewenmali Asa-  
mali No'iliara naa houte pee ine: a!  
umate <sup>1)</sup> etu imomor me medenami  
to antaan sia lowai pee. Le inar  
tono dain pai kilate to rāta <sup>2)</sup> tie  
25 tarate le ime tai muduare, momoro  
matitile le Lewenmali Asamali taan  
ahure itoone. Modowain ratwain  
Jotojaum soli hirari, ratu lause ma-  
ran lause. To Jotojaum ta noonoo,  
30 Horna-Wernakaka. Kaka oo noonoo  
itaasileni le umajauēle ti me itōon <sup>3)</sup>  
hōte to timurnini Lewenmali Asa-  
mali taani, waratnini noonoo taani.  
[Kaka oo noonoo punmire punnate  
35 luku ene: apte imomor soli lē soli  
pee naha apte inaa umawara ti na'u  
soli hirari nara so oone he tuhanu  
he. To apte ethain orotapul aun  
auni jo apte eme adarau <sup>4)</sup> le ap-  
40 tonosoli hirari tonosol jāni. Inar tonosoli

tried to lift the big stone, but it did not move. Then Lewenmali and Asamali took up the big stone easily with one hand and when it came down it was broken to small pieces; they also mentioned the name. Then Deliaman and Pajaman said: truly, you are the masters of the land. Then Lewenmali and Asamali ordered Deliaman and Pajaman to leave the island. But they did not want to go and requested Lewenmali and Asamali to allow them to inhabit the island together with them. Lewenmali and Asamali did not refuse this, they pitied them and so acceded to their living here together; they presented them with a village named Jotojaum. But this village was new and it was lying in a flat country. Lewenmali and Asamali said to Deliaman and Pajaman: you had better raise this place so that it is on a level with our village, if so we shall stay here together, if not, you must go away. But then the others used their power to change the place so that it was going to be higher than the village of Lewenmali and Asamali. So Lewenmali and Asamali, while descending from No'iliare, exclaimed: ah! they are raising their village so much that it will be higher than ours. Then they struck sparks from flint so that the powerful ancestors, terrified, jumped into the sea and the village became fixed on a level with the one of Lewenmali and Asamali. And those people stayed

<sup>1)</sup> Uma tie — those people.

<sup>2)</sup> Here are meant the ancestors of D. and P. by whose supernatural help the village was being raised.

<sup>3)</sup> Itōon = itoone.

<sup>4)</sup> Read: apte lutre eme adarau.

- 1 umare kāka taan lutre to daran  
pitu. Saile etu inupur ramke iia  
hihele<sup>1)</sup> pee. Tono kaka noonoo  
ita al nautane al dorke: apte eme  
5 inoohai? Mudaa kāka itaan nāme  
ile noonoo ede kirakira ederemu le  
karhou ara aun seile momor le ara  
nahemau. Ma'u momor le ara iro  
eme tawaile. Alnahai nohe etu japi  
10 pai pee tetu noonooara mara ikarhou  
seile le momor mudhemau pee nara  
karhou unaa momor ara naa tawai-  
len tie iliare le uaraha titlana. Nana  
tono japi pai pee waje karhou te  
15 iliare he nara, nana so kēre lata pai  
naha Naha je araene, lukunu so-  
hono itoone he, to waje iira waaleser  
pai le uma aun sere aun mara le  
tono kēre lata ia'uati. Ara timur-  
20 warat ma imua sere misaa na'u kēre  
lata ia'uati inar tono tadan ina'i me  
ahai<sup>2)</sup>. Noonoo al araume to taan  
me ede rau pee tetu kaka ali asilene  
to mara punmire punnate le taan  
25 me irau luturie daran uani. Saile  
itanautane le inupur ramke ia hihele  
pee. Tetu noonooara itaan hante ita-  
an ile kakara o ede itaan seile le  
mara punmire punnate japi pai saile.  
30 Japi saile etu wamnaa imomor soli  
ile soli unnalunte miatene, ratu  
lause maran lause. Wadu isahuna  
aun naa Jotojaum iaa wa'inie  
rateene nēneje Taheu Lapai, Taheu  
35 Modo-modo. Taheu Lapai tie  
Kokopini ahure<sup>3)</sup> to dedemanehe  
tono mara tuhur tie sura waaru ha  
onhali ira walaje. Wadaun naa  
wadu eluahe mara nara tuhur tie

in Jotojaum, they prospered and multiplied. Thus Jotojaum was the youngest and Horna-Werna the eldest. The eldest and the youngest agreed upon dividing the land into two equal parts, the eastern part belonging to Lewenmali and Asa-mali, the western part to the youngest brothers. [The eldest and the youngest brothers also consulted with each other: we shall be living in these villages, but if we are always to live here they cannot remain like this. Even if we have to build up the wall pebble by pebble we shall do so in order to live in safety. So they first made walls of seven layers for the eldest brother. When this had been done they were tired and wanted to make a feast. So the eldest and the youngest asked each other: how shall we do it? While the eldest caught and tied his, the youngest too remembered their purpose and took one kerbau along with him and went to the village. When he arrived at the village-wall he fastened it there. Early next morning, when the youngest brothers were going to take their kerbau into the village in behalf of the feast, the kerbau that had been fastened near the village-wall had changed into stone. If the kerbau had not been changed into stone when they were going to celebrate the feast, they would certainly have married with each other but the Creator did not allow

<sup>1)</sup> I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the words ramke and hihele. The translation was given by my interpreter.

<sup>2)</sup> This sentence is far from clear. Its general meaning is evident, but a literal translation seems impossible.

<sup>3)</sup> The word means: married her; but she was still living in her own house because he had not yet paid the marriage-gift.

1 taja-taja tetu Taheu Lapai tuhur ti  
 deru iro dure he tonu uakamate  
 nara ilihahakana oonkaure. Inaa etu  
 isa hee isa lare le etu pēmu ile  
 5 mara. Alnahai Kokopini etu iatan  
 Watapui kasaru le ine: amara eha  
 tatane to mau. Atan te ma'u le iro  
 etu lukun ututu minene naha Taheu  
 Lapai ine: dain ante mara naha  
 10 enaje anpai wirte anpai nawa to  
 ante mara he. Īri pēmu le mara iha  
 lukun ti ututu minene nara naje ine:  
 hai, anta isaturaja naha matu araen  
 antimin deru na. Lukun te irane  
 15 ilau me medemedekaure tipare le  
 nami ti noure. Nami ti nounoure  
 nara nami tetu woje: *Dudurewe  
 masarewe wilie Kokopini wali Koko-  
 pini (Pēmune, elau oohira memreke*  
 20 *ro)*. Inaa paipain tie nami ti isa pai  
 hee lare tetu mara inoo Taheu  
 Modo-modo asile idoro looro tūte.  
 Tūtutana pai-pai nara tuhur tie  
 (Taheu Modo-modo ali ahure) ilau  
 25 naka-naka weru-werun mudunatele  
 towo-towo ara nahemau. Tuhur tie  
 ma'u towo-towo ara iro nami uma-  
 rana tie asi le saure, iinawaja me  
 itkoikoite le tukan ti asilene: adatau  
 30 aniinamodo mara to ante umasihe<sup>1)</sup>  
 aninawaja was elelere. To aputu  
 etekaure nahai ētai tonu ma'u dula-  
 hai (imudaa tuhur ti asi le saure  
 naha ma ioon ne). Tuhur tie was  
 35 ahaterse he<sup>3)</sup> le mara le iro etu  
 doro loor me le uma mamuka mara.  
 Mara iro ete ara lapai aun uaa nae  
 le doro ti me ete taran iaa aatme  
 arahane loor tirio eme ioohai le odo-  
 40 taa taja. Taja-taja ha leule le hari

this because their languages were different, so they had to travel to other places in order to contract marriage. But the east-west village people always married within their own territory and tribe. Further the youngest brothers intended to put their village right and proposed to their elder brothers to come together and to build a wall of one layer with them. When this had been done they consulted each other and they were tired and wanted to make a feast. So the youngest brothers tied their property and the eldest brothers took theirs to the village where they assembled and celebrated the feast. When the feast was finished each of them settled in his own place for good and there they and their descendants lived and increased. Once there were two men from Jotojaum named Big Taheu and Small Taheu. Big Taheu was going to marry Kokopini and in the evenings went to visit her, but he had not yet paid the marriage-gift. One day when, towards night, he came again, the woman was sleeping soundly, so Big Taheu called her, but as she did not wake up he put his hand into her vulva and it went straight into a very large arse-hole<sup>2)</sup>. Then he went home, greatly upset. Next day Kokopini ordered her slave Watapui: go to your master and ask him to come. When the slave arrived at the house he gave the message but Big Taheu said: last

<sup>1)</sup> Ante uma asi he.

<sup>2)</sup> She was hollow inside (without intestines), which proved that she was a witch.

<sup>3)</sup> Was ahaterse he must express that, owing to his passionate love for the woman, the situation was unbearable, but I have not been able to find out the exact meaning of ahaterse.

- 1 deru: *Anin huhu hianin tenianin huhu pōne tēren tuin, huhu hianin tenianin welsen topur*<sup>1)</sup>. Tetu hari lapai etu ma'u to doro araware
- 5 hahan nahoute looro houte le manikete uturepele tetu ina kuile, oo upre wadu pitu wanat pitu ula jete. Wadutnaa wa'in oowaja modasin oowaja ararake asi letono huhu atu
- 10 memraka kasarū to houte le ulutaru kelese le eme jamoi mara Na'iro Ha'iro. Mara naha iro etu ultaru huale tono Naha lawan lai le eme ulutaru nara hali pai to lause. Pai
- 15 lause saile lukun me ina, wisar me ina, umunlukun me ina, umunsohon me ina. Saile eme wereweret taitairi mudume le houte pee. Naha nou naku le ine: anutu lukun me ēina,
- 20 sohon me ēina ro to ante eme inaa taitair wereweret ti mudume le houte. Naha mara nara inaa taitair ti aalamana pai le sewere tono antono seile le jamoi. Ha timur oo
- 25 warat tie Jotojaum ahur itanania. Taitair wereweret tie houte le momor ultua narau etu kakara asile ine: nahara so apte wāmnaa jelukun jesohon naha so apte itanania pee.
- 30 Ine le etu hai kasarū mara uete to wilte; medai nānio<sup>3)</sup> etu seile. Jamoi nara werewerete taitairi tie mamuka. Tetu Naha isa malare, noun nakun malpe, tono wadutnaa
- 35 wereweret taitair ti taru utrepele to tapu tie Kela nahoute le iliare le ili lapai ejeene. Pau tinaije ra'i mudaa houte le Hura Hura momor matu ultua narau, iliare he, ina'uni panu
- 40 ina'uni. Nunaa ene nara inte itana-kēre lata he, iro nana so ura'i naa

night I came but your mistress made me ashamed, therefore I will not come. When the slave came back and told this answer to his mistress, she said: ah, I slept soundly but he was angry and did not wake me up. After saying this she gathered up her sarung and ran to her lover. When she was pursuing him the man sang: *Dudurewe masarewe wilie Kokopini wali Kokopini* (*Go back, you, the rim of your sarung is already red*<sup>2)</sup>). But then he repented of his behaviour and so he went to his younger brother Small Taheu and asked him to forge a sword and a spear. While they were forging the woman (who had married with Small Taheu) dressed up in her very best clothes and stood near the bellows. When the woman came near the bellows the first lover saw her and wept, he wiped off his tears while he said to the smith: the smoke of the fire has come into my eyes so that I cannot see anything because my eyes are watering continually. So we had better stop now and come back shortly in order to finish the work (in reality he wept because he saw the woman but he simulated). He still loved the woman very much and so he went to the house to fetch his sword and spear and then retired to a lonely place. When he arrived there he stopped under a big tree, and put his spear among its branches with its head pointing downward and his sword likewise, right above the place where he was

<sup>1)</sup> The informants knew the general meaning of the song but not of the separate words, which are probably partly foreign (like *anin* = Malay *angin*) and partly archaic.

<sup>2)</sup> In other words: you are losing blood, you are a cannibal witch.

<sup>3)</sup> *Medai nānio* (*nāni o*) — who was on high also.

1 oone panaha Jotojaum ratu tuhur  
 iran modo iran was ture ode lawan  
 me, modo ira tuhur ira inrenie loor  
 patun auni, malu sarawaat auni, tua  
 5 oplese auni tuhur modo iranle saile.  
 Inar tonu waje ma imomor le mu-  
 daa kēre lata ia'uatī uhe, iira  
 waaleser pai le uma aun sere aun  
 mara le tonu kēre lata, inrenie inaa  
 10 momor le misaa <sup>1)</sup> inutu iliar kēre  
 lata ia'uatī.]

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going to sleep. While he was lying down there, he called the wind, singing: *Wind, blow from above, that my spear fall down and also my sword!* Then a strong wind rose and the spear fell down on his body while the sword came also down and cut his neck through, so he died and his head and body remained lying there seven days and seven nights. At the time the Creator, looking down, saw it and ordered a beetle with a red belly to descend and grasp him by the navel-string and carry him up to the Creator. When the beetle had come with him the navel-string fell off, so the Creator cut a piece of gold and put it on the hole of the navel and brought him to life. When he had brought him back to life he bestowed upon him speech and language, the speech and language of the dead. Thereupon he took a pair of scales and placed him on them with the intention to let him down. He instructed him thus: I have given you speech and language and now I am putting you on these scales and letting you down. When you come to the earth you must prepare the contents of the scales and then pull the rope; then I shall pull them up. And this will mean that the double village and Jotojaum are to intermarry. The scales descended and were put down in the middle of the village and the elder brothers said: henceforth we are to intermarry although each of us has his own language. After saying this they ordered a pig to go and push

<sup>1)</sup> The word misaa is dark and so is the meaning of iliar in this context. It is not to be doubted, however, that the translation is correct.

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30 Apna-Apha, wa'in oowaja modasin  
oowaja, umajaele mederitmun  
oowaja, tu ikasa kasarun to houte  
le Dai Ahus me medenami to titlene  
hatate, ratu maran me mesau me  
35 soli hirari; ratu wa'i maran wa'i,  
nami pitu tuhur ejeene nawa'i, itaan  
hiahara mariada lowai lapai. Ro-  
monili Jatanili oowara Tutupei Ha-  
kapei, Huli Hoko isoholen laren pai  
le Dai Ahus mara. Unaa tonono mara  
40 Dai Ahus marana asi. Tutupei Ha-  
kapei je Dai Ahus naa kere lata me  
ratu maran unanini anaje tonono unaa  
Tutupei oo Wuriesi itaahure. Wadu  
mara wanat mara Tutpei etu Wu-  
45 riesi ira le Romanili Jatanili nahe-

against the scales so that the rope  
on high moved; the Creator then  
thought all was ready and pulled  
them up. When the scales came up  
they were empty. Then the Creator  
was angry because the agreement  
had been forgotten, so on that day  
he cut the rope so that the weights  
came down in Kela where they  
were transformed into two big  
stones. And the scales themselves  
were thrown to the North into the  
middle of the village Hura Hura,  
and there they remained ever since,  
without changing. It has been told  
that we two villages do not inter-  
marry, but in the future this will be  
possible; however, in Jotojaum they  
demand a very large marriage-gift,  
ivory and gold, whereas with us one  
sword, one sirih-pouch and one  
bottle of strong drink is enough for  
the marriage-gift. For that reason  
they use not to marry within their  
own village, but to travel to other  
places to marry there, but we use  
to marry among our own tribe  
only.]

Our Creator, who has created all  
people and the earth, by his own  
order descended to create Dai Ahus  
and put people on it to live there;  
they begot children, seven sons and  
two daughters, and took care of  
them until they were grown-up.  
Once it happened that the rulers of  
Roma, Tutupei Hakapei and Huli  
Hoko made a voyage to Dai Ahus.  
There they went to look at the  
people of Dai Ahus. Tutupei Haka-  
pei wished to found intermarriage  
with the people living there, so Tu-  
tupei married with Wuriesi. In  
course of time Tutupei paid the  
marriage-gift for Wuriesi and

- 1 ma'u. Noonoo Wariesi Lina ratu  
Teum ratu ahur itanania; ira walaje  
le Lina Teum mara, itanasulhe ita-  
namatu. Romanili Jatanili nāninie  
5 Wuriesi namrai Ratpain nie ultua  
nānate le hati rei tua dudu taru  
utseile, meden hokolou taru utseile,  
tetu jerapale jerane hari eme jesute  
wadu eme jemalare. Momor aala-  
10 mana eme uma nakun wāse, oro  
nakun wāse, ihar atu wāse, hai atu  
wāse, eme ihar naree, eme hai na-  
ree; wirte, nāwa mudaa sesele: lēre  
tartei antono imua sere iro ina iro  
15 iha iro. Makasare ratu isoholene  
ilaren pai le Romanili Jatanili mata  
soloto mudu hakane. Wuriesi etu  
adauali adalari nautane dorke: ate  
inamara pee na? Tatanluku: ante  
20 Kei Kouru Dai Ahus mara pee na.  
Jāni ha ate annakatun mete le mara  
annaha ina. Jāni. Wadu iro wanat  
iro etu ihar hai atu wasne eme hua  
uur malu uur naliare le eme ina.  
25 Nou naku le eme tana a'ume: mara  
nara eme anha anna nami ratu pitu  
punderu punsura tono urahai. Tetu  
matu nakatun ti adahale le emet <sup>1)</sup>  
mara. Nakatun tie Makasar ratu  
30 adahale le eme mara ha namni uma  
iro sere iro, deru le panu utwaa  
urahai nara nakatun lolonana isai  
he: ihar atu hai atu. Na ha nami  
toutouru nalteri jo ahanalteri he.  
35 Noonoo weula tono odotnalteri  
odotsura. Ine: apleren nie Ratupain  
Maranpain ultua nanate le hati rei  
tua dudu utrepele meden hokolou  
taru utseile to ihar hai etu aniare  
40 ro. Tartei aptono mara apleren iro  
sura le ahure ma'u. Namrara ratu  
neme apu inoo weula al nautane:  
aiti ate nalteri nara ioone he? Ioone!

returned to Roma with her. His younger sister Wariesi married with a nobleman from Teon; he paid the marriage-gift and went to Teon, and intermarriage was kept up from that day. In Roma the Creator interfered with the husband of Wuriesi and cut the rope of the sageru bambu, cut the rope of the food basket, so that she remained alone, was chilled by the wind alone, was warmed by the sun alone. Then the men of the village abased her to the dust and dirtied her as if she were no better than a dog or a pig; so she felt deeply ashamed and prayed that the time might come when she might return to her family. Once it happened that a high-born man from Makasar made a voyage and arrived in the harbour of Roma. Then Wuriesi met with him and asked him: where are you going? He answered: I am going to Dai Ahus. Then she said: please, take something with you and give it to my family. All-right. When the time for departure had come she wrapt up dog's and pig's excrements instead of fresh sirih and pinang and gave it to him. And she made this request: when you go there, take this along with you and call together my parents and my seven brothers that it may be opened. So he accepted this parcel and took it along with him. When the high-born Makasar man had taken it along with him and had arrived at the land of her father and brothers he called them together and opened it before their very eyes; it did not look well: dog's and

<sup>1)</sup> Eme tie or emete.



- 1 Iloone nara tartei apte mara ilerene  
sura waaru le ahurma'u. Lukun me  
punmore lukun itoone wisara itoone  
etu losu rosone le ono ialetana <sup>1)</sup>)
- 5 nāni, Jotojaumu ratu Nori Hakara  
isoholene larene pai le Romanili  
Jatanili mara mata soloto mudu ha-  
kane mudu halse hua tahule pee.  
Wuriesi etu ma'u le nautane: ina
- 10 mua sere mara pee? Inte Kei Kouru  
mara pee. Jāni ha aptono mara.  
Ialetana naa matu kodorene here-  
nene asi naware le matu ahure iliare  
Jotowa Lakeru nahema'u ahure le
- 15 momor le Jotojaumu jamoi, Heipari  
le jamoi. Lawan reti ti me urahai le  
lapai aun me da'uru timur aun  
meda'uru warat ii uru ta taumen  
wadu ta iasuilen oone. Ha nami ia-
- 20 naa ma'u ma'u ron tie etu Romanili  
Jatanili iro nautane dorke nara Ro-  
manili Jatanili nahoana enne: Nori  
Hakara Jotowa naa ma'u le ahure  
le enen Kei Kouru mara pee to
- 25 matu mara ro. Iro namirara te ine:  
uhe ra! Inara umate pudi akal pai  
le matu ahure imua sere mara ro.  
To matu namirara al malhemara le  
ma'u Loronwisi naa losire uranasi
- 30 pannasi iro nisaun asi he. Pannuale  
le ma'u Tessakalirin Airmodo iro  
le Horna-Werna ianasi jonisaun asi  
he. Al pannuale le ma'u Asoo  
Mekemhoru iro Jotojaumu ianasi
- 35 nara da'uru timurnin naa uhule  
laire alana uru taumen oone wadu  
ta iasuilen oone. Alten pannuale le  
ma'u Alhana Lelmaupali iro halse  
hakane. Wadu warataa houhoute
- 40 uranasi nara da'uru waratnin naa  
uru ta taumen oone, wadu ta iasu-  
ilen oone. Tetu losu aalamana te  
itaasile ine: Jotowa Lakeru pudi

pig's excrements. The parents and most of the brothers did not understand the meaning of it. However, the youngest was able to explain it. He said: the Creator has risen between our sister and her husband and cut the rope of the sageru bambu, cut the rope of the food basket, and then dogs and pigs have misused her. When shall we go to our sister and take her home? The six brothers then asked their youngest brother: perhaps it is not so as you explain! It is so! If it is so, when shall we go to our sister and take her home? They were of one mind, so they prepared a boat and sailed, and while they were still on their way, two noblemen from Jotojaum made a voyage to Roma and anchored there with the intention to buy pinang. So Wuriesi went to them and asked them: where are you going? We are going to Kei. Allow me to go with you. They agreed, but when they were on their way they noticed the riches of Wuriesi and therefore they returned to Jotowa and after arriving there took Wuriesi up to Jotojaum, up to the house of Heipari. They opened her goldbag and used two large pieces to cover the eastern and the western garret-window, where they shone forth like the rising moon, the climbing sun. In the meantime the brothers had been travelling, and when they had arrived at Roma and asked after their sister, the inhabitants of Roma said: Nori and Hakar from Jotowa have come here and said they were going to Kei together with her, and

<sup>1)</sup> Iar letana.



- 1 akal aputu naware ro to paito aputu  
 iliare le iuma sere mara. Uma sere  
 iro namirara ratu pitu apu punmire  
 punnate itanautane: apte inoohai  
 5 tonon aptono Jotowa mara le ilerene  
 ahure le ma'u pana! Isaije kira kira  
 odo le ine: apu uma eteren me punu  
 le losu rosone halai hirataru omose  
 le mara ilerene tatane; tetu oone  
 10 tuhanu pae. Tono punrua al laune  
 le inoo weula kasaru to jamoi.  
 Wa'in oowaja iro nautane pee nara  
 wa'in oowaja tatanasi le kekele,  
 nautane: inahai to ate ma'u, ēratu  
 15 lause na uhe? Iro tatanluku: anratu  
 marana lause naha oonsole oon-  
 hirarin sala to ante Ina Iha wa'in  
 oowaja uste le mara uma sere aunu  
 todo le eme itaana tawanilee. Emua  
 20 je modo-modo to ate mara uma aun  
 me itaan tawanilee tawakude pee  
 nara atoho uma modo-modo kikila'i  
 ejeene le ultuani ha atoho todo ha  
 mara telira todo le eme itaan tawa-  
 25 nilee tawatodo. Wa'in oowaja noun  
 nakun me ina saile etu kasaru to  
 houte. Noonoo weula tie ma'u ika-  
 rara iro, karara etu nautane dorke:  
 amara ha Apna-Apha ēasile inane?  
 30 Tatanluku: antemara nara Apna-  
 Apha noun nakun me anina nie:  
 uma modo-modo ejeene le ultuani  
 anutu paito titlene ro, hatate ro, to  
 atoho paito al kepte al tarate. loone!  
 35 Uma telira todo le itaana tawa sir-  
 kede, tawanilee. Iro karara tie ine:  
 Apna-Apha wain oowaja ta ine  
 naha uma tie pudi akal te was lapai  
 to aputu mara le todo. Tetu rusunu  
 40 raini naakeki ron tie malhema'u Ro-  
 manili Jatanili naa Ilmawata na-  
 hante le seile: *Kei Kouru todo ili  
 Ilmawata rururu.* Umajaele ti seile  
 to sohosohole. Nehalini Larmere  
 45 leulu umajaele sohosoholen ti

now they have departed already. However, the brothers said: no! In that case those people have deceived her and have taken her to their own island. So the brothers then sailed to cape Loronwisi, sailed along the coast, looking about, but they did not see anything. Then they sailed away and arrived at Tessakalirin Airmodo and there they looked up to Horna-Werna but they did not see anything. Next they sailed away again and arrived at Asoo and at Mekemhoru and when from there they looked up to Jotojaum they saw the eastern garret-window shine like the rising moon, like the climbing sun. Again they sailed away and arrived at Alhana Lelmaupali, where they anchored. When the sun was sinking in the West they looked back and saw that the western garret-window was like the rising moon, like the climbing sun. Then the people in the boat said to each other: now we have found out the cunning trick of the Jotowa people, so we had better go back home. When they had arrived, the seven brothers deliberated and asked each other: what shall we do to fetch our sister from Jotowa and bring her back! One of them got an idea and said: let us gather the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands and prepare a boat and iron-wire and then go to our sister; so they resolved to act thus. And they planned further to send their youngest brother up to the Creator. When he arrived there and was going to make his request, the Creator looked at him and laughed, asking: why have you come, do not your people

- 1 odotrēle le mudunate le halai tinai  
utrepēle to Ilmawata tinaije ma'u  
taiwee narau ha losu riunu tina'ije al  
maluale mallare le ma'u Jotowa
- 5 Lakeru iro le Nama Heren Nama  
Lulin ahakane ahalse. Dedem ulu  
wanat ulu hira taru halai taru time  
houte le ma'u Jewerili nahante saile,  
urauale uralare losu iarane todo
- 10 wejēe le leule: *Kei Kouru todo ili,*  
*Jewerili jata* <sup>1)</sup> *rururu*. Tetu uma-  
jauēle seriwakale tenen naa mudu-  
suhale welaa mudusuhale. Horna-  
Werna ijaa Lewenmali Asamali
- 15 tarate le dure nara umajauēle soho-  
sohole. Resjotowa Jawulur maro  
ede tarate le ma'ule halai tinai ut-  
repele to halai aanahu apra je  
Resjotowa tinai wewese to umu.
- 20 Losu riunu tinai je sukan ira'u  
maduere; losu uanita kahare he  
inamara o ma nahamai.

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thrive? My people is thriving but their dwelling-place is too small, therefore I request our Creator to allow us to tug some other island along and to enlarge our territory with it. Your land is small, so you may go and enlarge it with some other island, however, do not take two small islands in the centre, but go and tug another one in order to enlarge your territory with it. When the Creator had instructed him thus, he told him to descend. When the youngest brother came to his elder brothers, they asked him: what did our Creator say to you when you came there? He told them: when I came there, our Creator gave me this instruction: I have created two small islands in the middle, so do not move them any more, do not frighten them any more. So be it! Tug another island along and enlarge your territory. But the elder brothers said: our Creator speaks thus, but the people of those islands are too cunning and treacherous, so we shall go and tug them away. So, when the boats had been made ready they sailed away to Roma and pulled along the village Ilmawata after fastening it, while they sang: *Kei Kouru pulls away the mountain, the village Ilmawata is moved!* They pulled the land so that it was shaking. Nehalini and Larmere suddenly woke up and heard the song and felt the shaking of the earth; they rose and cut the iron-wire so that Ilmawata remained lying on the sea-coast, whereas all the boats sailed away and after arriving at Jotowa anchored at

<sup>1)</sup> Jata is not a present-day Oirata word. The interpreter did not know it.

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- Umajauele al kepte al tarate seri  
25 wakale tenen naa mudu suhale, wel  
naa suhale to Lewenmali Asamali  
kikre le Siwilai, Soomauresi, Rusu-  
koun, Dalkati rusunrain nere le  
maluale mallare Umana Serna mara.  
30 Noonoo Kaskui ratu je ikarhu lēn  
iaa houten ti ere le Kela naa āre  
nara lora titiri meemee tetu isatapu  
ruru tetu ikarhou unnan <sup>1)</sup> etekaure  
le le mara. Le iro uranasi pannasi  
35 nisaun toho kuran he letu ine: ina-  
hai tono anka isatapu rurū wolo-  
wolo le inaa ilas lapan nair lapan  
ti itaa malhemara to sō antono eme  
inoohai panao? Ioone pee nara  
40 anutu ika nere le mara, inar tono  
ilas nairi lālan time punu, nawan  
toron auni wa toron auni kono le  
Kela mara. Kela iro etu karhou

Nama Heren Name Lulin. In the  
dead of night they took the iron-  
wire ashore and, after fastening it  
to mountain Jewerili, went back  
aboard and pulled, rowing and  
singing: *Kei Kouru pulls the mount-  
ain, Jewerili, spoiled, is moved!*  
Then the island hang over and the  
water flowed in from the right,  
flowed in from the left. Up in  
Horna-Werna Lewenmali and  
Asamali started from their sleep  
and when they rose they noticed  
that the island was shaking to and  
fro. Resi Jotowa, a man from the  
village Jawuru, who was also  
frightened, went and cut the iron-  
wire and then he was struck by the  
end of the wire and died; all those  
boats were scattered far and wide;  
one boat only was not wrecked, but  
of this too nobody knows where  
it went.

The island was flooded again,  
hanging over, the water flowing in  
from the right, flowing in from the  
left, so Lewenmali and Asamali  
were afraid, went aboard boats  
belonging to Siwilai, Soomauresi,  
Rusukoun and Dalkati, and sailed  
away from the land in the direction  
of Timor. At that time the youngest  
brother Kaskui was herding his  
horned beasts which descended  
from the sky and when he was  
feeding them at Kela the sound of  
drumming from the sea moved his  
heart, so he left his cattle there and  
went to the village. When he came  
there he looked about and there  
was not anything missing, so he  
said: what terrified my elder broth-  
ers so that they left all their belong-

<sup>1)</sup> Unnan = unaan (being there).

1 panar aunu tete semen pai le lere  
 pai, lau hitin me lehen pai le nesrau  
 time iakono le jamoi, lehen seile le  
 malhemara Umana Serna mara,  
 5 Loikera naa muduhemara. Mata  
 odotaa mudhemara pee naha Ne-  
 halin Larmere momor naa al titir  
 meemee to matu losre le Koun naa  
 losre Raileki Lakiliha momor naa  
 10 al titir meemee al sairi lirlirhu to  
 matu al losre le mara Tuamesin  
 Etasalehen losre mara Urualauten  
 iro halse hakane le etu lēre, winan  
 me houte, lata pai le karhou time  
 15 muduūme.

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Saile etu winan kono le mara Rai-  
 30 sere Wakasere odo ira <sup>1)</sup> iro unaa  
 lunte miatene dadan pitu sorlewen  
 me rau soli hirari. Unaa matu Rai-  
 sere Wakasere hua leku malu leku  
 pate kahare le tiatia, mū lalaje le  
 35 isa, ajaka ti me isoso, wa waaleser  
 tinai huje le una, ira ti me inusa to  
 kopete kapete. Nahai-nahai māri  
 hua malu kuluru wata enen saisaille  
 tetu oowara atana Nehalin Larmere  
 40 adahoko le nāme le āwaluru, ahure  
 le le mara. Mara nara le tinaije  
 jejhaine. Nehalin Larmere matu  
 imomor mara le iratu Raisere Wa-

ings and rites and went away, and  
 what am I to do now? As matters  
 stand I had better go away and  
 follow the elder brothers, so he  
 gathered their belongings and ritual  
 objects, took one basket of millet  
 and one basket of beans and went  
 to Kela. When he arrived at Kela  
 he took a female kerbau, made  
 outrigger-booms and outrigger-  
 floats and made a mast, he took  
 white cloth and made a sail, he  
 loaded the luggage and went  
 aboard, he hoisted the sail and  
 sailed away to Timor and was  
 coming into port at Loikera. When  
 he was opposite the harbour, the  
 drums were sounding from Nehalin  
 Larmere, so he sailed along the  
 coast to Koun and there again the  
 drums were sounding from Raileki  
 Lakiliha, and the war banners were  
 floating; so he sailed on along the  
 coast to Tuamesin Etasalehen and  
 from there on to Urualauten where  
 he anchored and went ashore; he  
 landed the luggage, made a pen and  
 put the kerbau in it.

After that he took his luggage and  
 went to a plantation belonging to  
 Raisere Wakasere and settled  
 down there after building a seven-  
 storied house to live in. There he  
 made use of their pinang- and sirih-  
 fields and chewed sirih, he used to  
 cut off pisang, which he roasted,  
 and smeared himself with the ashes  
 from the burned peels, he cooked  
 and ate the beans which he had  
 taken along with him and he bathed  
 himself with that water so that he  
 became quite black. As the owners'  
 pinang and sirih, his bread-fruits

<sup>1)</sup> Literally: garden water, a usual expression for garden, plantation.

- 1 kasere asi koto: hāle, ante mara  
nara maro nāniro kuluru wata hua  
malu ooje to na'u saile. Inaa maro  
tie jejeaine, kopete kapete, so uma  
5 aunu <sup>1)</sup> ratu marani. Leje jejeaine;  
ante uma irik uma dau <sup>2)</sup> nere o  
ante le ijoonen asi he. Anhaje ma'u  
to apu mara le ede sisinasi.

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- Mara nara nūnu atana ooluklukun  
tie ma tahi-tahi. Wadu tnaa matu  
ahure hele pai le etu le mara. Le iro  
hele Jotowa kāse tetu hele Urua-  
25 lauten imodora tuhurai ahurluku:  
umanta ira isa me ma'u to aphele  
je tutu? Naha modora kakara je  
ine: ou, umanta ira me inaa maro  
kopete kapeten ti ina to tutu pana!  
30 Iro haje tatanluku: maski kopete  
kapete o hū paini dau paini wa'ini  
modoasini ha haise le ma'u to ma  
tutu pa. Tono noo-noo etu iha  
ooluklukun ti mēte le etu haise le  
35 ma'u ina to utu. Ha etu lita al uste  
to malu tia pee. Naha kakara ma  
sukan araene. Noo-noo tu al isisa-  
wale le ilita me ina to malu tia.  
Wadu tnaa aahai huje-huje to hele  
40 Urualauten oo hele Jotowa etu  
medde <sup>3)</sup>. Medde <sup>3)</sup> saile hele Uru-

and his coconuts were gone every  
day, his slaves Nehalin and Lar-  
mere watched and caught the thief,  
scolded him and accompanied him  
to his house. When they came there  
they saw that this house was differ-  
ent. Then Nehalin and Larmere  
went back to their village and told  
their master: father, when I came  
there, a man was stealing bread-  
fruits, coconuts, pinang and sirih so  
that there is never left anything.  
That man is different from us, quite  
black, perhaps he is a man of noble  
blood from foreign parts. His house  
too is different; I have been every-  
where in this country but I never  
saw a house like this. Father may  
come with us, that he may see for  
himself.

They went and then they saw that  
what the slaves had told them was  
quite true. On that day they became  
friends and went to the village  
together. When they came there,  
the friend from Jotowa was thirsty,  
so the Urualauten friend said to his  
daughters: who is going to fetch  
some water for our friend to drink?  
But the elder daughters said: bah!  
who would fetch water for this  
black man to drink! But the father  
answered: although he is quite  
black, yet he too is a creature of the  
Creator, so you must draw water  
that he may drink. Then the young-  
est daughter did as her father said  
and drew water and gave it to him  
to drink. The father further asked  
for a sirih-bag, that they might  
chew sirih. But the elder daughters

<sup>1)</sup> One country, a certain country: i. e. a foreign country.

<sup>2)</sup> Uma irik uma dau nere means: visit every part of the country, but the meaning  
of the words irik and dau is dark.

<sup>3)</sup> Mede.

- 1 alauten etu lita al uste to malu tia  
pee; noonoo ilita me al ma'u. Uma  
etu lauare tetu tajatere pee. Ha etu  
imodora asile ine: umanta ihēte  
5 aunu me inaa hele ti ina to ajēte?  
Iro kakara araene: umanta ihēte me  
inaa ēhele adar oonen kopete ka-  
peten ti ina peena! Iro noo-noo  
Huitetuai etu ine: Uruwadu maro  
10 laulusana uani tiri; inaa anihēte ti  
me ina to aatajane. Wanat ti naa  
etu itaanaje le punuaa tajan hēte  
najaurua. Tono namirai je tuhuru  
nautane: ēha iraheje tarha, inaje  
15 tarha? Tuhur ie tatanluku: anha  
irahe pitu, inaje pitu. Inar ijoone  
nara nohe apu dudure le mara  
imusa. Ratu een apu te nohe mara  
imusa tetu nami kopeten kapeten te  
20 uru lailairana wadu lailairana oone.  
Imusa saile nami tetu ituhurai  
kasaru to le mara nainairi aluana  
me le ma'u to iselre pai. Tuhurai  
etu mara le eme. Pēnu le ira iro  
25 nairi aluana ti me urahai nara tuhu-  
ru nami nairi, looro, doro, tala,  
riwasa ta po'e tetu tuhuru nami  
paki me inarasa. Saile tuhuru nairi  
aluana tutre l'umare<sup>1)</sup> nami je uraa  
30 nere le le mara. Ia letana iro tala  
oren etu momor esejete. Naha narai  
lailait aun ta awarware tetu narai  
lailait tie momor aalamana asilene:  
momor aalamana, e, aja lōro etu  
35 ma'u ro, iwadewaden me mudu-  
kono. Tetu momor aalamana iwade-  
waden me tahi mudukono. Naha  
wadu lil nata-nata lēne hin dau  
wauwaun oone. Narai lailait tie  
40 hiri kaune. Ratu een apu tie ma'u le  
momor ara iro tala oren te aja loro  
oone naha lēne hin dau waun oone,  
wadu lil nata-nata. Tetu momor

all of them refused to do it. The youngest daughter was charitable again and gave her sirih-bag so that he could chew sirih. On that day there was much cooking and the Urualauten and Jotowa friends ate together. When the meal was finished they again asked for a sirih-bag to chew sirih; the youngest daughter again came with her sirih-bag. Then it was dark and they all were going to sleep. The father said to his children: who will give one of her sleeping-mats for this friend to sleep on? But the elder daughters refused: who would give her sleeping-mat for this friend of yours who is black like a suangi! But the youngest daughter said: he too is a creature of the Creator (lit. the Creator is the same for all human beings); I give him this sleeping-mat of mine to sleep on. During that night those two cohabited and slept together on one mat and one pillow. The man asked the woman: how many wells has your father? The woman answered: my father has seven wells. In that case we shall rise early in the morning and go and bathe ourselves. They went out early together and bathed and then the man who had been quite black was gleaming like the moon, gleaming like the sun. When they had bathed, the man told the woman to go to the village and fetch his clothes-basket, that they might dress up. When she had come back to the well and the clothes-basket was opened, it contained men's and women's clothes, swords, spears,

<sup>1)</sup> Le umare.

1 aalamana herheri oon nahure le  
 aranasi nara ratu een apu te ita-  
 nerenate le momor jamoi.

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Momor aalamana te ahanepu he.  
 Nūnu narai lailait tie ta ararake le  
 ine: alana Raisere Wakasere hele  
 30 t'ooone. Iro Raisere Wakasere mo-  
 dora tuhur kaka tie ine: aitie Rai-  
 sere Wakasere helei he. Ina tie  
 kopete kapete, adar oone, ha ue  
 urhiti, waduhiti. Ma'u le oomanlau  
 35 iro nara tahi-tahi tetu tuhurai  
 karara tie ilau me medekaure le  
 inoo asile ine: noo, pupuru apnam-  
 rai ho. Iro ratu een apu tie aaluku  
 he ha matu panusuile le ara mara,  
 40 idoro me uma peseri, loor, lita me  
 tauawajamai; tuhurai jo iwinan ti  
 me unarau. Nami tie ikās ne: uman-  
 ta mara ira isa haise le ma'u to ante  
 tutu nara, ante eme ituhurai taua  
 45 me. Modo tuhur kaka tie tiparen

bells, and pins and then the woman  
 and the man dressed up in those  
 clothes. After this they went to the  
 village, the woman with the clothes-  
 basket in front and the man follow-  
 ing her. On their way the jingling  
 of the bells reached the village. An  
 old woman of standing noticed it  
 and said to the people of the village:  
 I say, there is coming a heavy rain,  
 take in your things that are hanging  
 outside to be dried. Then the  
 villagers indeed took in their things.  
 However it was very hot and the  
 sky looked like a clean porcelain  
 plate. It could not be true what the  
 old woman was saying. When those  
 two people came below the village,  
 the jingling-bells sounded like heavy  
 rain, but the sky was like a clean  
 porcelain plate, the sun was shining  
 burningly hot. Then the people hur-  
 ried to the village enclosure and,  
 looking down, saw those two climb-  
 ing up to the village, one behind  
 the other.

The villagers did not recognize  
 them. The above-mentioned old  
 woman looked down and said: that  
 man looks like Raisere Wakasere's  
 friend. But the elder daughters of  
 Raisere Wakasere said: probably  
 it is not him. That one was quite  
 black, like a suangi, but this one is  
 white like the moon, white like the  
 sun. When they had reached the  
 village gateway the elder daughters  
 indeed lifted up their sarung and  
 said to their youngest sister: young-  
 er sister, he should be our common  
 husband. But those two did not  
 answer and went on to the house,  
 where he put his spears in the usual  
 place and hang his swords and  
 sirih-bag up on them; the woman



1 mamamuka le mara ira haise le  
ma'u nami ina to tutu pee naha  
adahale he, ira te amseke. Ijoohai  
le tuhur neme apu te uha, iro ira te  
5 amseke to adahale he. Tuhurai  
me'ana tie mara haise le ma'u nara  
kilakilate wawara tetu ma adahale  
le tutu. Nami tie al ne: umanta  
mara anlita me ma'u to ante malu  
10 tia nara, ante eme ituhurai taua me.  
Tetu tuhur nēme apu tiparete le  
mara lita tme<sup>1)</sup> pee, litataru te  
doro naa maina. Tuhurai tie ine:  
itoho aninamirai litataru utseile,  
15 antono iasi mara eme. Oota lukluku  
ha etu mara le eme nara mamala  
tetu ma'u inamrai ina. Nami tetu  
tuhur nēm apu ali asilene: umanta  
mara anloor ti me ma'u nara ante  
20 eme i tuhurai taua me. Tetu tipare  
te le loor ti tauanahura le eme pee,  
o maina. Tuhurai etu ine: itoho ani-  
namrai looro taru utseile. Iri etu  
mara le eme ma'u ina. Nami tetu  
25 tuhur nēm apu asilene: umanta ma-  
ra anidoro ti me le ma'u nara ante  
eme i tuhurai tauame. Tuhur nēme  
apu tie tiparen mamamuka le mara  
doro ti ahamu o maina. Tuhurai etu  
30 ine: itoho aninamrai doro paito  
tepu. Iri tuhurai tetu mara ahamu  
nara mamala tetu eme le ma'u eme  
inamrai itaa peseri. Nami tetu tuhur  
nēm apu al kasarū: umanta mara  
35 iniwinan ti me ma'u nara ante eme  
i tuhurai tauame. Tetu ratu nēme  
apu tie tiparen mamamuka le mara  
winan ti me medenami, was tuure  
to ahasomone he. Tuhurai tetu mara  
40 le winan ti me medesomone nara  
wawawata tetu itaan me ma'u alu-  
ana narau. Karara tuhur nēm apu  
ti isat<sup>2)</sup> was malare to etu itanasin

put down her clothes-basket. The man was thirsty and said: whoever will go and draw some water for me to drink, her I shall take as a second wife. The eldest daughter just ran away and drew water for the man to drink, but he did not accept it, the water was dirty. The six women did the same thing all of them, but the water was dirty and he did not accept it. But when the true wife drew water and brought it, it was sparkling and pure, and he accepted and drank it. Further the man said: if anybody will bring me my sirih-bag so that I may chew sirih, I shall take her as a second wife. So the six women hurried to bring him the sirih-bag, but the string by which it was hanging from the spear could not be cut. The wife said: not you but I myself shall cut the string of my husband's sirih-bag. So she spoke and when she took it, the string was easily loosened and she brought the bag to her husband. Next the man said to the six women: if anybody will bring me my sword, I shall take her as a second wife. So they hurried away and wanted to take the sword but it stuck fast. Then the wife said: not you but I shall cut the string of my husband's sword. So she went and took it and brought it to her husband. Then the man said to the six women: if anybody will bring me my spear, I shall take her as a second wife. The six women hurried away and pulled at the spear, but it stuck fast. Then the wife said: not you but I shall break my husband's spear. So the

<sup>1)</sup> Tie me.

<sup>2)</sup> Isa te (tie).

- 1 wakaun pai: mara iratu ejeen apu  
itaahure le itaima suki. Wadu wa-  
nat mara-mara inaa tuhur tetu āni  
le ratu wa'i to tuhur pitu nami pitu  
5 nawa'i. Ratu etu lause to oo saisai  
jara lewur ira me rau le kalkali  
mesi muduaa, saisai je lewur auni,  
modo lerenaraje lewur auni. Wadu  
auni saisai je ira time itaan naweru,  
10 wadu auni modora lerenara eme  
itaan naweru. Kaka naa usu te ma  
lōlo naha ura'i naa modora lernara  
tie matu ira ti utiete le eme itaan  
naweru tetu modora saisai etu al  
15 me itatutuwee. Modora tie inane-  
deremu to etu isaisai jara tutre pee  
naha so urai naa ilan pee inar ina-  
hai: uma riun uma salen ederemu.  
Tetu iwinan nakaure le uma ithe-  
20 mara le Lur Saramaa mara Liuru  
iro Apatulatei iro unaa Liur Apa-  
tulatei me irau. Nana unaa lunte  
miate ne pee naha so nohe kepte  
tarate pee<sup>1)</sup> to soroke le ma'u  
25 Hetnara Majakui muduhe le Horo-  
hiti Hualaman ma'u Roson Wadu-  
mura iro unai soli hirari. Unaa  
Lailere, Tadlai, Heipari, Korolila,  
Kikikoro, Maakoro, Maanunu, Nun-  
30 lau, Nunsara, Maasara deren pai  
raka pai hala pai wadu ijani so  
mara he. Noo-noo modo mara nau-  
tane: eha inahai to so ma'u he?  
Kuisse le joko-joko (inamodo ono  
35 kuikuile le reireijee). Ina'i nawirte  
nanawa. Deren aalamana noo-noo  
kaka al me itatutuwee. Kakara Lai-  
lere Tadlai resene tutua pale to ma  
idoro looro tute maina; noo-noora  
40 taana tute nara pai wusawusane  
polo. Tetu āla muduaa kakara etu  
noo-noora resi talu worawa Roson  
Wadumura naa aranoure le ma'u

wife went and when she pulled at the spear it was easily loosened and she took it and set it down by her husband's side. Then the man further instructed the six women thus: if anybody will bring me the clothes-basket, I shall take her as a second wife. So the six women hurried away and tried to lift up the clothes-basket, but it was too heavy, so that they were not able to carry it. Then the wife went and when she wanted to carry it, it was very light and she took her property along and put it in its place. The six elder women were very angry and cried to them: you two people may go and marry and cohabit. In course of time this woman became pregnant and gave birth to seven daughters and seven sons. The children grew up and together with their uncle watered rice-fields and planted rice in them, one field being worked by the uncle and one field by the children together. One day the uncle made the water flow over his field and the next day his sister's children made it flow over theirs. In the beginning this arrangement was observed but later on the children turned off the water and made it flow on their own field only and owing to this the children and their uncle were henceforward living in enmity. The children trusted they were strong enough to overcome their uncle, but realized they were bound to lose in the long run for this reason that there were many thousands of people on the island. So they took their belongings and went to the central part of the

<sup>1)</sup> This part of the sentence is not quite clear: so nohe kepte tarate pee means literally: in the morning they were going to be frightened (or disturbed).

- 1 Ilmeti Watmeti soli hirari. Unaa  
 Lewara ratu Masopon ratu ahure  
 hele kula pai, liu kasun pai to  
 Maanunu Nunlau mara liu kasunu  
 5 ti na'u nanadoure, eme he. Nelu me  
 ita'ina etai tono ma'u kasun ti na-  
 doure. Naha matu nelu ualare alna-  
 hai mara nara matu helera hala  
 mara, modo jejen ta natara nāni.  
 10 Tetu modo ti nautane: ēnaha ina  
 mara? Modo te tatanluku: etai nelu  
 to ma hala marare. Helera tetu le  
 mudurake nara toron aun unajete  
 tetu nautane: o, modo! inai ta unaa  
 15 toron ti nāni?

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island to Lur Saramaa and then to Liuru Apatulatei where they founded villages. They liked to settle down there, but early in the morning they were afraid and travelled to Hetnara Majakui, entered Horohiti Hualaman, and when they arrived at Roson Wadumura they stayed in those places. There Lailere, Tadlai, Heipari, Korolila, Kikikoro, Maakoro, Maanunu, Nunlau, Nunsara, Maasara were working a garden together and did not go home although the sun was already high. Then the youngest brother's child came and asked: why does not your father come? Kuise le joko-joko (the eye is still shut while the house is shaking). This made them ashamed. Henceforward there was enmity between the eldest and the youngest of the group. The eldest ones, Lailere and Tadlai were used to handle anvil and hammer and welded their weapons strong; but when the youngest ones welded theirs, these were soft and blunt. So the eldest vanquished the youngest and expelled them from Roson Wadumura whence they went to Ilmeti Watmeti where they settled down. There they became friends with the noble people from Leware Masopon and ran into debt with them; so Maanunu and Nunlau came to dun them, but they did not receive anything. It was agreed that they would come again on the third day. But they did not keep the agreement and came on the following day, when their friends had gone to the garden and there was only a child in the house. Then they asked the child: where have

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- Modo tie tatanluku: popon ta āni.
- 10 Helera etu ine: āna wakale le toron mamuka time inina. Toron mamuka adahale, etu modo-modo ti asile enne: āna toron mamuka ti mudusuile! Tetu mudusuile nara sōsote,
- 15 to etu laite le eme ipapua iamore. Ma'u le ia letana iro etu modo te na ha tatane, to hele etu asilene: ante inatara mara naha anhelera unāni he; modo-modo ta unani,
- 20 naha apliu kasunu matu saile. Hele ejeen apu italūsare etu modo tie toron mudaa inaha ahurluku: ē! anna anha, iliu kasunu paini tono nahara anutu ina panu mule pae.
- 25 Ratu een apu modo tinai luklukun nawarware le inēsrau ti tumante le noure. Tetu toron me unahutrau. Tetu na ha toron tinai ajaru le imodo ahure le mara, ha helera tie
- 30 matu tiparete le imomor mara. Momor iro le iro inooka me punu le laune al me itatutwee pee. Idoro, looro, uta, wada naakeki le etu mara Ilmeti Watmeti horonjete
- 35 wadu na'u nanuha. Naha momor aalamana āl apra Ilmeti Watmeti houte he. Tua mani rekse le soklai mearama, tua lehunu me tūtun itaaruale le ahure itadudle itawaliee
- 40 pee. Naha uma riunu uma salini mane le nunu oolia toi le nere le houte, mara le Irauru Wasairi iro. Unaa dōro kāsā kajaren na'umun etu naahe tetu unaa na'e, uma lau-
- 45 are to unaa tajatere. Wanat tinaa

your father and mother gone? The child answered: the third day was agreed upon, so they have gone to the garden. The friends then looked into the house and saw a basket lying there on the floor, so they asked: well, child! what is in that basket?

The child answered: there are beans in it. The friends then said: please pour them out and give us the basket. They received the empty basket and said to the child: now try to get into the empty basket! Then the child entered it easily whereupon they sewed up the opening and one loaded it on his shoulder. They were going back to their village but on the way they met with the child's parents, so they said to them: we went to your house, but our friends were not there; there was a child only, but your debt has been squared now. The friends passed each other but then the child in the basket cried to its parents: hallo! father and mother, owing to your debt you will not see my face any more. When the two people heard the child's words, they threw their load on the ground and pursued the others. These threw away the basket. Then the parents opened the basket and went home with their child, but their friends ran away to their own village. When they arrived at the village, they assembled their family and friends and agreed that they would carry on war. They made ready their swords and spears and shields, went to Ilmeti Watmeti and besieged it persistently. However, the enemy did not descend from the village. They cut off the crowns of

- 1 asa eleula patkula ma'u le nale-  
rene <sup>1)</sup> Lelisulai Watasulai odotaa  
itate to ira te houte le Lelisulai  
Watasulai susu naruhu, tetu here le  
5 sisinasi, amu'e nara ira hoho. Na-  
lerene etu iha nami deru le ututu:  
ina asa ta ma'u anodothe le itate to  
ira annaruhu. Ante here le amu'e,  
ante enenara susu, naha ira. Tetu  
10 ha nami dure nara asa eleula pat-  
kula odotaa unamire tonu sohu:  
ethain ante ratu pain pee nara etu  
Irauru Wasair me annaratrene to  
ante eme iatuele naataru le antono  
15 ina iha anaje. Sohu saile etu eleula  
patkula ihile le ma'u Irauru Wa-  
sairi mudhemara tetu naware. Ihar  
Wilriun Ilhira aitoto me mani ada-  
wajama'i kasaru iar me aratrene uru  
20 mudhemara tonu nerenuale neren-  
lare mara nara ira he lapai tonu  
tutu utu le eme ma'u inaleren ina,  
rian eme hereke kasueri siloro kaja-  
mete kurukese kaiwate le etu iatuele  
25 naataru. Ira odotsuile tetu unna-  
lumte miatene soli hirari pee naha  
heen soli katal soli, tanamaen aun  
pale hēren aun pale nara oon ira  
oon āria peenie sala. Tetu Irauru  
30 Wasairi na <sup>2)</sup> malhemau Kiar Ira  
Nahir Ira mudhe le ma'u Koko  
Maalakelai. Najamoi ma'u Koun  
piihe Warasa piihe ma'u Ilwali Lai-  
tani iro Raileki iro Lakiliha iro.  
35 Raileki Lakiliha iro nautane: atono  
inanaa ma'u? Ante uma lolore sere  
lolore ante ika Lewenmali Asamali  
anaje, naha Lewenmali Asamali ate  
wari nara inanāni <sup>3)</sup>? Aaluku: ante  
40 wari nara Lewenmali Asamali Res-  
resi Jalresi naa. Al nanate āl titir  
mee-mee, sairi iinate. Nautane: tahi

lontar-palms and made headdresses  
out of them and set up spears of  
lontar-wood round about against the  
village wall as though they intended  
to make a sally together. But they  
were afraid because there were  
thousands of enemies, so they cut  
steps in the outstanding roots of the  
waringin and by means of them  
descended until they arrived at  
Irauru Wasairi. There they felt  
thirsty and exhausted, so they took  
a rest and, as it was already dark,  
went to sleep there. During the  
night the bird eleula patkula came  
flying above their sister and then  
something trickled down on her  
breast, so she wiped it off and  
looked closely at it and when she  
smelled at it she found that it  
smelled like putrid water. Then she  
called her parents and brothers and  
told them: some bird flew past me  
flapping its wings and some fluid  
trickled down on me. I wiped it off  
and smelled at it, I thought it was  
milk, but it was water. So her father  
and brothers rose and saw the bird  
eleula patkula sitting opposite them,  
and then they prayed: if we are  
creatures of the Creator, you may  
designate Irauru Wasair for us to  
find our living there, that we may  
also think of our God. When their  
prayer was finished the bird flew to  
Irauru Wasairi and entered, so they  
knew. Their dog Wilriun Ilhira with  
a ketupat fastened to its neck was  
told to show the way into the hole  
and after following the dog they  
found a spring, so they drank and  
took water to their sisters, while

<sup>1)</sup> Here nalerene means sister.

<sup>2)</sup> Naa malhemau or namalhemau.

<sup>3)</sup> Literally: but Lewenmali Asamali if you heard where are they?

- 1 je uhe? Ante ēmila nara āna ili Kul-  
 kuli Wernetneti jamoi le sisinasi.  
 Sisinasi awarware nara sairi lirlirhu  
 titiri mee-mee. Tetu iliarele ma'u  
 5 Iliwali Laitani nahema'u. Pēnu le  
 ma'u koto: tahi-tahi. Tetu al pēnu le  
 mara ika Lewenmali Asamali iro  
 pee naha Raileki Lakliha asile ine:  
 ate uma lōrhe sere lōrhe le was  
 10 kajere to elerenije ira isa paito tutu  
 tonono mara.

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the rest was used to cook vegetables and snails, which then were eaten. As they had found water they liked to stay there for good, but the place was narrow and if they were to keep cattle it would not be possible to water them and to put them to grass. Therefore they left Irauru Wasairi and went to Kiar Nahir and from there to Koko Maalakelai. They climbed up and came above Koun Warasa and when they reached Iliwali Laitani, they met with Raileki Lakiliha. Raileki and Lakiliha asked: where do you come from? We are roaming about the land to look for our elder brothers Lewenmali and Asamali, perhaps you heard where they are? They answered: we heard that Lewenmali and Asamali are at Resresi Jalresi. There is war now and the drums are sounding, the banners are floating. They asked: is this true or not? If you think we are making fun of you, just climb the mountain Kul-kuli Wernetneti and look for yourself. They did so and noticed that the banners were floating and the drums were sounding. Then they returned to Iliwali Laitani. When they were back in the village they said: it is quite true. Now they wanted to go to their elder brothers Lewenmali and Asamali, but Raileki and Lakliha said to them: you have been roaming about the country and you are very tired, so your sister had better prepare you something to eat and drink before you leave.

After eating and drinking they wanted to go but were detained again. You are travelling with women, they were told, so you had

1 Ira tutu saile etu mara pee naha al  
airene. Ate apleren ahure, uma ara  
tono mara. Iro araene le ine: anut-  
mara. Nara ate mara pee nara uma  
5 lauare apileren ahure naha atoho  
irim ala titiele ha etu ira wee tai  
wee nere le mara. Huaneru Iraeten  
nere le mara o ia etu hee. Tetu  
lerhe poje mudhe nara Hulur aala-  
10 mana Wasan aalamana tua iaho'e.  
Naleren lau medekaure, patu hitin  
na'u kapare. Tua iaa nerenasi le  
leule: *Kiri kiri nepeke poje hulure  
lelete pojo hulure*. Leul ti me ijoo-  
15 hai to ha nami aware le wirta nawa  
iro iahakanana iahalsana to inoo-  
hai pa. Panwale panlare le mara  
Resresi Jalrasi iro nara oomana lili-  
daidaine.

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Oomanlau utunate le Lewenmali  
Asamali deru, naha eme āl apra pai  
30 le iuta wada doro looro oon'kaure  
ma'u oomanlau utnate le nautane  
a'umani? Ante ēnoo Nunlau  
Maanunu. Īri Lewenmali Asamali  
ine: jani! apte na uani ha uani! Tetu  
35 oomana me urahai le inoo deru.  
Tetu mudhema'u iuta, wada, doro,  
looro me unahere le itatawanahure  
le itamanioore. Tetu noo-noo ika  
ahure le Resresi Jalrasi soli hirari  
40 le unaa tono inaleren me ia pai wati  
pai. To Lewenmali Asamali ilerena-  
ra Unaslai Daraslai me umaowara  
Maakai Wun'kai nania. Maanunu  
Nunlau ileren Lelisulai Watasulai  
45 me Kikmuni Maamuni nania. Nara

better wait till daylight and then  
leave. But they did not like to do  
so and said: we are going. If you  
are going while it is dark and  
though you have women with you,  
do not travel through the bush but  
follow the sea-shore. So they did  
but when they arrived at Huaneru  
Iraeten, they could not go on. So  
they turned away from the coast  
and walked through along-along to  
Hulur Wasan where the people  
were sitting in the lontar-palms.  
The women were walking with  
their sarung tucked up, white thighs  
became visible once and again. The  
men in the lontar-palms looking  
down at them sang: *They walk  
through the along-along, lifting up  
their sarung, showing their thighs,  
which are clean*. The men heard  
this song and it made them asham-  
ed, but they were only travellers in  
foreign parts, so what were they to  
do! They went on to Resresi Jalrasi  
but when they came there the  
village gate was firmly locked.

They stood before the gateway and  
called Lewenmali and Asamali;  
these thought they were the enemy,  
took their shields, spears and  
swords, went to the gate and asked:  
who are you? We are your younger  
brothers Nunlau and Maanunu.  
Then Lewenmali and Asamali said:  
it is well! we are children of one  
mother and one father! Then they  
opened the gate and called their  
younger brothers. They entered,  
their shields, spears and swords  
were thrown down and they ran  
towards each other and embraced  
each other. The younger and elder  
brothers stayed to live together at  
Resresi Jalrasi and married off their



- 1 namirai tie jaitapul hanate tetu itu-  
 hurai kasaru le ine: ante hanate to  
 meden araene, to ate mara le an-  
 wajenara ira wee tai wee soli to  
 5 ethain hu pai taru pai le ahi me  
 nara itaan jajani nawa ha sunu na  
 rau me nara eme dudu mudume le  
 tai me tawasuhale le eme ma'u.  
 Ma'u le le iro etu hu me adarau ira  
 10 me āni ada me arina to roto'e tetu  
 sunu rau ti me ira mudusuhale nara  
 itaasukorore potorene. Tetu hu ti  
 me le iaa arālene le ine: ante enen  
 ēha ēnami tie uru modo wadu modo  
 15 ha imudaa adar ihihilana. Tono  
 Unaslai Daraslai Lelisulai Wata-  
 sulai wirtē nawawa, isūnu iinawaja  
 nawa. Ma'u le Resresi Jalrasi nahe-  
 ma'u Lewenmali Asamali itaa inum-  
 20 saure inumarie. Iri tono Lewenmali  
 Asamali iwirtē nawa ne le kasaru  
 to mara Maakai Wun'kai Kikmuni  
 Maamuni iro le ene to utnutan he-  
 hese oro katama ilhualita wetwetur  
 25 an'kai kete aile le neenee kono, le  
 asilene: anha nami ini oorhanawe  
 nie ite idoro loor uta wada pai  
 nakinemene, wadu pitu iro ite mara  
 Moraka Samalai tausū naa anha  
 30 nami ahure itatatane. Itu inpaiwir-  
 tenawa ro to inutu pēnu le mara  
 iha nami uarane. Iliare ma'u iha  
 nami iro etu asile ututu tetu ede  
 idoro looro uta wada pai nakine-  
 35 mene nawēne. Nelu wadu te uha  
 etu apra-apra etu tausū enenen ti-  
 naa itatatane le al me itatutue. To  
 Lewenmali, Asamali, Nunlau, Ma-  
 anunu etu Wun'kai, Maakai, Kik-  
 40 muni, Maamuni uda, uma riunu  
 salini uda manjee kono le momor le  
 mara eme iseli japili lause pane.  
 Rian ie noure le eme Samalai Mo-  
 raka teher ianoure. Al ie tipa-tipare,  
 45 Wilaumali Reilaumali inoo ka ana-

sisters. Lewenmali and Asamali gave their sisters Unaslai and Daraslai in marriage to the native men Maakai and Wun'kai. Maanunu and Nunlau gave their sisters Lelisulai and Watasulai in marriage to Kikmuni and Maamuni. Once it happened that the latter had a headache; so he told his wife: I have a headache and I do not feel like eating, go therefore to my brothers-in-law who are living near the sea and who perhaps catch fish. If they have good fish they may eat them themselves but if they have *sunu* or *rau*, you must put it in a bamboo with sea-water and bring it here. When she came back with it, she lighted a woodfire, put a pot with water on it and, when it was boiling, threw the fishes into it, who then were moving about and farting. Then her husband took the pot from the fire and threw it down, saying: I supposed your family are creatures of Sun and Moon, but they are really suangi who are flying about. Unaslai, Daraslai, Lelisulai and Watasulai felt ashamed about this and wept bitterly. They went to Resresi Jalrasi, wept and wailed to Lewenmali and Asamali. Then Lewenmali and Asamali too felt ashamed and told their sisters to go to their husbands, fetch their weaving-tools and other belongings and say to their husbands: our family informs you that you had better make ready your spears and swords and shields and invites you to come on the seventh day to the plain Moraka Samalai in order to meet with our family. You have made us ashamed, we return to our family for protection.

- 1 je, ilodon taru Harakati Maamau  
 anaje le Jotowa Lakeru nahemau  
 jo<sup>1)</sup> hinan patu mamuka. Tetu  
 iliare le pēnu le Umana Serna mara.
- 5 Eteasalehen Tuamesin naa mudu-  
 hemara losre le Kounu Waras mu-  
 duhemara iro sesi worawa to ma'u  
 Loikera Palmesi naa halse hakane.  
 Tono Lewenmali Asamali etu Wi-
- 10 laumali Reilaumali ahure hele pai  
 kula pai nautane dorke: ite inanaa  
 ma'u? Tatanluku: inte Jotowa La-  
 keru mara le ilodono taru Harakati  
 Maamau anaje naha uma mamuka
- 15 to inutu iliare le ma'u. Tetu Le-  
 wenmali Asamali ihele kula ahure  
 le Resresi Jalrasi jamoi le aahai hu-  
 je-huje le eme ina to una naha me-  
 den te mina sirkede, ira ti me itana
- 20 wau jo<sup>1)</sup> tana tie sirkede. Inara  
 inahai tono ira me meden huje me-  
 den ti naua nara mina sirkede tana  
 wau jo sirkede? Inaita pai tono  
 ioone? Tetu Wilaumali Reilaumali
- 25 asile ine: so ate inani nara ate hu-  
 huhe hahahe patpatu dau panak  
 ali pee. To iniumajaele inaa timur  
 muduni to ma'u aputu iniumasere  
 mara, ira te mahune na. Inaa wadu
- 30 ti naa Wilaumali Reilaumali tono  
 timur warat me Oiriata deru. Inaa  
 Jotowa apranin jo Wilaumali Rei-  
 laumali taan ti nerenhai le timur  
 warat me Oiriaka deru na. Nūnu
- 35 Wilaumali Reilaumali ihele kula  
 Lewenmali Asamali hutluku to uma-  
 sere mara pee naha ine: jani ha  
 itu umaruale umarlare to inte apna-  
 leren utnutan hehese oro katama
- 40 ilhualita wetweturu (jaitapulu) eme  
 itanere tono intono inere le mara.  
 Tetu apra-apra etu itanaweu sor-  
 mata le etu itahati. Wilaumali Rei-

When they had come back they informed their family that the other party had prepared their weapons. On the appointed day the two parties met on the above-mentioned plain and engaged in battle. Lewenmali, Asamali, Nunlau and Maanunu killed Wun'kai, Maakai, Kikmuni, Maamuni and numerous followers, whose heads were cut off and taken to the village where they were offered to the gods who had made them strong. They drove away the rest of them and chased them up the mountains Samalai and Moraka. While that battle was going on, Wilaumali and Reilaumali were looking for their brothers, looking for their friends, Harakati Maamau, and went to Jotowa, but there were no people in their native country. So they went back to Timor. They touched at Eteasalehen Tuamesin and from there sailed along the coast to Kounu Waras where they also fell into port, but they were driven away and then sailed to Loikera Palmesi and anchored there. Then Lewenmali and Asamali became friends with Wilaumali and Reilaumali and asked them: whence have you come? They answered: we went to Jotowa to look for our friends and brothers Harakati and Maamau, but the island was deserted, so we came back here. Then Lewenmali and Asamali together with their friends went up to Resresi Jalrasi, had food cooked and gave them to eat, but this food was fat and greasy, and the water which they used to wash their hands made their hands also greasy. What was

<sup>1)</sup> Jo is unusual after -u; more regular would be wo or o.

- 1 laumali matu imua mara etu uraa  
Lewenmali Asamali etu nesrau ti  
ria itanere saile, winanpau leupau  
me itanere eme rusun rain iakono le  
5 etu malhemara le ihele kula ti nere  
le Tutukei Serawaru iro halse ha-  
kane. Nara Liuleli Dailora ratu  
Meheloi Lewensimara Tutukei Se-  
rawaru nahemau. Liuleli Dailora  
10 naa ma'un tie ihorokle Sapodo  
Mauradi me ruale le ahorok pee  
naha liu kasun ie Umana Serna nā-  
ni Wursere Walusere nāni. To  
Wilaumali Reilaumali uste to mara  
15 kasun ti nadoure pee naha Wila-  
mali Reilaumali etu asile ine: Le-  
wenmali Asamali anhele kula je  
mata mudaa halhalse, mara uste to  
mara adoure. Irio Liuleli Dailoro  
20 ratu tie tatanluku: inte lukunu so-  
hono nahamai naha ite antulne le  
ene to mara inliu kasunu ti nadoure.  
Tetu Wilaumali Reilaumali etu  
usustana ti me Lewenmali Asamali  
25 asilene. Inara jani ha mara le asi-  
lene to asa taraleu mimiraka auni,  
hai ulapua lolorana me le ma'u to  
inte iilas nair namire le intono mara  
le adoure. Tetu Wilaumali Reila-  
30 mali asilene to adane Liuleli Dai-  
loro ratu isa waware le iiliare le  
momor le mara asa hai ulapua lolo-  
rana anaje. Uraa Lewenmali Asa-  
mali iilas nair namire le maluale  
35 mallare mara Umana Serna Wur-  
sere Walusere nalere umaowara  
Lekitou Wonlewen adauale adalare  
ahure hele pai kula pai le etu Le-  
wenmali ahure le le pee, naha Le-  
40 wenmali inoo Asamali nou nakun:  
inutu umare le le pee naha uraa  
atono aniuta, wada, doro, looro,  
ta'un dān, sama dān me aninere  
ho! Saile etu Lewenmali oo helera  
45 etu umare le lemara. Wadu eluahe

the cause of it that when food was cooked in water, this food was fat and greasy when eaten, and that one's hands when washed with water, became also fat and greasy? What caused it to be so? Then Wilaumali and Reilaumali said: if you stay here you will be suffering from swellings and leprous sores and headaches. So we shall go to our island in the East, together we go to our island, because this water is bad. From that day Wilaumali and Reilaumali called the east-west village Oiriata. And here in Jotowa the people followed their example and called the east-west village Oiriaka. When they were going to leave, Wilaumali and Reilaumali tried to persuade their friends to go with them but they said: you had better go first and as soon as we have packed up our women's weaving-tools (the heads of the killed enemies), we shall follow you. Then they took leave of each other and separated. Wilaumali and Reilaumali then went to their country and afterwards Lewenmali and Asamali packed up their skulls and their luggage, loaded it on a boat and sailed away after their friends and when they arrived at Tutukei Serawaru, anchored there. At that time Meheloi and Lewensimara, nobles from Liuleli Dailora came to Tutukei Serawaru. In Liuleli Dailora they had been building a porka-house, called Sapodo Mauradi, and they wanted to celebrate a porka-feast but their claim was in Timor, in Wursere Walusere. So they requested Wilaumali and Reilaumali to go there for them and demand payment, but Wilaumali

1 tono momor iro tetu aahai huje-huje  
 le mede. Mede saile etu taja pee  
 nara hele Lekitou Wonlewen etu  
 hele Lewenmali asilene to lē  
 5 jamoi le taja pee naha Lewenmali  
 araene. Īne: anut araa taja ha i lē  
 iaa taja. Uma hatinrane etu Asamali  
 iilas nair namire, saile etu iwein  
 wain ahure idoro, looro, uta, wada,  
 10 ta'un dān, sama dān nakaure le etu  
 ika nere le lē mara.

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and Reilaumali said to them: our friends Lewenmali and Asamali are lying in the harbour, so you had better go and ask them to do it. The nobles from Liuleli Dailoro, however, answered: we do not know the language, help us therefore and ask them to go and collect our debt. Then Wilaumali and Reilaumali transmitted their request to Lewenmali and Asamali. It is well, they answered, but go and tell them to bring us a red cock and a pig whose tail is whole and entire, that we may perform our rites, and after that we shall go and demand payment. So Wilaumali and Reilaumali told the others and the nobles from Liuleli Dailoro consented and with a glad heart went to the village and fetched a cock and a pig with a whole tail. After that Lewenmali and Asamali performed their rites and sailed away to Timor and when they arrived at Wursere Walusere the master of the land, Lekitou Wonlewen, made friends with them and invited them to accompany them to their village, but then Lewenmali told his younger brother Asamali: I shall go to the village first, and afterwards you must follow with the shields and spears and swords, the beans and sweet potatoes. Then Lewenmali went first to the village with their friends. When they arrived at the village it was getting dark, so there was cooked food. After their meal they were going to sleep and Lekitou Wonlewen then invited his friend Lewenmali to ascend to the upper story of the house to sleep there, but Lewenmali did not agree with this. He said: I shall sleep under-

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- Mara oomanlau iro orotapul aun  
 10 namuske le eme momor muduhutrau  
 to ihara, hai, maro tajan umun pai.  
 Asamali etu ika deru to malhemau  
 le inoo asi wein wain asi, ira waa-  
 leser nawa. Saile etu ilas nair narua  
 15 le uta, wada, doro, looro, ta'un dān  
 sama dān nakaure le momor mud-  
 hemara. Lektou Wonlewen lē ho-  
 ronjete le ta'un dan me da'uru ti-  
 mur warat ulene le kēre me araru-  
 20 ale le etu iarane Lekitou Wonle-  
 wene mani me. Houte, ada seile le  
 lē narapa to momor etu ira'u madu-  
 ere. Mani tie somone le sere pae.  
 Ianaa wata losir laje, wowoje: *Uru*  
 25 *Semai Wadu Semai. Semai roto-*  
*roto Semai. Semai laka-laka Se-*  
*mai*<sup>1)</sup>). Sere iro mani ti me lōsu  
 jamoi. Wata losir ti me losu samre  
 letu<sup>2)</sup> malhemara Tutukei Serewa-  
 30 ru mara halse hakane. Iro Liuleli  
 Dailora ratu Meheloī Lewensimara  
 etu asa lōno ti me ma'u. Tutukei  
 Serewaru iro etu Wilaumali Rei-  
 laumali etu asilene: i onhali ma'u  
 35 etu anhele Lewenmali Asamali etu  
 Umana Serna naa iliare, iliu kasunu  
 ti nadoure le ma'u. Ītono lōr nasi  
 pa, ilas nair jejehaine. Tetu Liuleli  
 Dailoro ratu Wilaumali Reilaumali  
 40 asilene: annoo an'ka je Lewenmali  
 Asamali asilene to inutu pupuru  
 lōrhe le Liuleli Dailoro mara.

neath the house and you will sleep  
 on the upper story. At dead of  
 night Asamali performed his rites  
 and after this, together with the  
 crew, took their spears, swords,  
 shields, the beans and the sweet  
 potatoes and went after his elder  
 brother to the house.

When they came at the village gate  
 he blew on a small pebble and  
 threw it into the village and thereby  
 caused the dogs, the pigs and the  
 people to sleep as though they were  
 dead. Then Asamali called his elder  
 brother, who came out and saw his  
 younger brother, saw the crew, and  
 they ate and drank from the  
 provisions. Then they performed  
 the rites, took their weapons and  
 provisions and entered the village.  
 They surrounded the house of  
 Lektou Wonlewen, covered the  
 eastern and western garret-windows  
 with sweet potatoe-leaves, placed a  
 ladder, ascended it and cut off  
 Lekitou Wonlewen's head. Then  
 they descended, made fire and  
 burned the house and then the  
 whole village was destructed. They  
 carried the head with them to the  
 coast. On the way they cut coco-  
 palm leaves and sang: *The Creator*  
*ordered this: Semai who grants*  
*prosperity and blessing.* When they  
 arrived at the coast they took the  
 head on board. They decorated the  
 boat with the cocopalm leaves and  
 sailed away to Tutukei Serewaru,  
 where they anchored. At that  
 time Meheloī and Lewensimara, the  
 nobles from Liuleli Dailora arrived  
 with the sacrificial cock. When

<sup>1)</sup> Translation given by the informants. The exact meaning of roto-roto and laka-laka remains uncertain.

<sup>2)</sup> Le etu.

- 1 they arrived at Tutukei Serewaru, Wilaumali and Reilaumali said to them: before you came our friends
- 5 Lewenmali and Asamali came back from Timor and they have demanded payment of what is due to you. Just look seaward, the arrangement of the boats is different from before. Then the nobles from Liuleli Dailoro said to Wilaumali and Reilaumali: we request our elder and younger brother to ask Lewenmali and Asamali to embark together with us and sail to Liuleli Dailoro.
- 10 At that time the six rulers of Leti with their boats escorted the boat which carried the skull and towed it to Liuleli Dailoro. When they arrived at the village they took the skull ashore and entered the village with it. Meheloi and Lewensimara strung together pieces of gold and offered them in exchange for the head but Lewenmali and Asamali refused. Then they decorated girls and presented them but they refused again, stamping their heels and shaking their heads. Then a certain old woman of standing said to the people: you have strung together pieces of gold, you have decorated girls and presented them, but they are stamping their heels and shaking their heads, so perhaps they want land or why else do they behave thus. So Meheloi and Lewensimara before their face took up a handful of earth and showed it and then they nodded assent. So then they handed over the head, it was laid down and they sat down all of them. After this all the inhabitants of the village came to pay their respects and homage to the head.
- 15 Unaa wadutnaa Leti paki nēme apu ilōsu rosone inaa lōsu ula mēten ti horonhe le todo le Liuleli Dailoro mara. Mara momor iro etu ulajau ti me houte le eme momor mudhe-
- 20 mara. Meheloi Lewensimara lawan siwiadake le ma'u ulajau kortēle ti uste naha Lewenmali Asamali araene. To tuhuru modo samre le ma'u le ina: araene, iia itin me uma titiele, iwali saisaike. Tono narai lailaiti aun tono jawan tour ti asile ine: ite lawan siwiadake, tuhur modo samre le ma'u jo iia itin me uma titiele, iwali saisaike to aiti so uma-
- 25 jaele uste pana inahai. Tono Meheloi Lewensimara panu utaa uma nakun me medenami le aratrene nara medemante. Tetu ulajau kortel ti me ina, etu irau, irua. Saile momor aalamana upupur te ma'u ulajau kortel ti sormata awe'u. Awe'u sormata saile etu ilas nair narua le horok me imore. Saile etu Liuleli Dailoro ratu etu Peri, Toi-
- 30 naman, Punan, Sakian teri wasake le eme Lewenmali Asamali ina to soli hirari unaa lunte miatene. Unaa nāna lunte miatene pee naha hu tiirana tomorana sunu me rau me
- 35 tetu uuraka pōte, atu me malmore
- 40
- 45

1 le iri upur ti isa le etu unare. Sunu  
 etu tie manatu. Uma lauare etu  
 noo-noo Maanunu etu sunu atu ti  
 me iauakete horo etu mara le tuhur  
 5 aunu asile aniahata. Sunu atu tie  
 tuhur taan ti muduhuale. Nohe dure  
 mara irse nara sunu atu tie etu iri  
 ahure le houte. Tuhur tie aranasi  
 le iiri ti watae nara sunu atu ahure  
 10 tetu ine: daini nami tie aniatu tap-  
 modo utrapa pana inahai. Arakaure  
 le eme sisinasi nara atu tapmodo  
 he ha sunu atu etu eme le mara  
 korose le wade. Wadu eluahe nami  
 15 tie onhali ma'u, tuhur tie kalkali  
 tapa le eme sunu atu ti tawahuje.

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Patu saile etu nami tie ma'u to tu-  
 huru meden alene le nami ti ina to  
 una. Mede saile etu tajatere. Nohe  
 40 uma ara nami te mara tua pai le  
 tua iaa leule: *Elewei, alawail aisunu*  
*aitopratu iin lolmarna. Elewei, ala-*  
*wail* <sup>1)</sup> Tuhur tie iwaliuru me pa-

performed their rites and finished  
 the porka-feast. And then at last  
 the nobles from Liuleli Dailoro  
 staked out the territories of Peri,  
 Toinaman, Punang and Sakian and  
 gave them to Lewenmali and Asa-  
 mali, who settled there for good.  
 They were going to stay there but  
 their bow-nets yielded fish of  
 inferior quality, which they cut up  
 raw, taking out the intestines and  
 the increments; they cooked the  
 flesh and ate it. They kept the guts  
 of the *tatuh*-fish. When it was dark  
 their younger brother Maanunu  
 took that fish-gut and wound it  
 round his penis; then he went to a  
 certain woman and had intercourse  
 with her. The fish-gut slipped off  
 in the woman's vulva. When, early  
 in the morning, she rose and went  
 outside to urinate, the fish-gut fell  
 down together with her urine. The  
 woman looked down and when she  
 saw there was a fish-gut with her  
 urine, she said: that man, last night,  
 seems to have broken my bowels.  
 She took up the fish-gut and when  
 she looked closely at it, she saw  
 that it was not hers but a fish-gut  
 and then she took it with her and  
 cleaned and dried it. Towards  
 evening, before the man came, the  
 woman pounded rice and cooked it  
 together with the fish-gut. When  
 she had finished cooking the man  
 came and the woman served up  
 food for him to eat. After eating  
 they went to sleep together. In the  
 morning, when it was light, the man  
 went to tap palm-wine and, up in  
 the lontar-palm, sang: *Elewei,*  
*alawail you, a woman of noble*

<sup>1)</sup> The informants were not able to give a literal translation into present-day Oirata.



- 1 pale nara nami tetu al woje: *Elewei, alawail aisunu aitopratu iin lolmar-na. Elewei, alawail* Leul te irane etu ede tuhur te walase: *Elewei,*
- 5 *alawail naan epa sosoru meka naan epa lalai meka!*<sup>1)</sup> Nami te leul ti nawarware le tehuke le isūnu inawaja nawa, inawirte inanawa le al me tutue, hon me tutue pee naha
- 10 niwara woro timnana mane<sup>2)</sup> le upum ina, aam ina, arus me ina, hari me ina. Mara itirana tomorana sura tono arus hari upum aam me ina tono inamalhema Jotowa La-
- 15 keru nahemau Lilit sere Den sere nalēre. Kaka etu oumakan aranani noo-noo je jamoi le mara ira anaje pee nara kaka je inoo ti nounaku le ine: inaa uma te ina uma apte na-
- 20 hama'i naha mara nara māri kuluru wata sura-sura. Tetu noo je ira anansuisuile le iar odotsuile le oonhe ma'u Lekrai Maalere naa isarsuile, aranasi nara Surlali, Waseli,
- 25 Tutwatu, Launei, Sunheti, Makarai lori liu hunu tausū ina'auni. Asa aunū toho kukruke, ihar aunū toho koure he, ada aunū toho wauna kila-kilate he. Tetu ine: sō na ha enen-
- 30 nen ta inairi pana inahai. Panwali panlare ma'ule Asatiku nanate aranasi Unameti, Tatrara, Oorhanawen lori liu ina'uni. Ihar aun wau-na koukoure he, asa aunū wauna
- 35 kūkruke he, ada aunū waunaa tau-tauee he. Tetu ine: sō na ha enenen ta inairi pana inahai. Al panwali panlare ma'u Huililitur nanate aranasi Sorleki Sawalai oonasi hunu
- 40 tausū ina'uni. Tetu houte le odo mudhemau nara wata titlene kulur moro-morose. To dida le wata ira tutu amu nawa kulur ti isa le una,

*birth, have been deceived with a fish-gut!* The woman pricked her ears and then the man sang again: *Elewei, alawail you, a woman of noble birth, have been deceived with a fish-gut!* When the song was finished, the woman from her side answered: *Elewei, alawail you have eaten it up!* The man heard and understood the song and wept bitterly for shame and wanted to wage war against the people, but he feared the wrath of their gods and so they prayed for a favourable wind. While they were examining their bow-nets, a strong wind rose so that they left there and sailed to Jotowa where they landed on the coast of Lilit and Den. The eldest brother stayed behind to watch over the canoe and the youngest brother went ashore to fetch water after his brother had instructed him thus: we do not know anything about this island so be careful not to touch either its bread-fruits or its coconuts. Then the youngest brother went roaming about to look for water and found some path which he followed until he reached the region of Lekrai and Maalere and then, looking down, he saw Surlali, Waseli, Tutwatu, Launei, Sunheti and Makarai and noticed that the open places and ponds were as they used to be. But no cock was crowing, no dog was barking, no fire was flaming anywhere. Then he said: perhaps this is the land that has been acquired by our parents, what could it be else! He went on until he arrived at Asatiku and when he looked down he saw Una-

<sup>1)</sup> See note on p. 126.

<sup>2)</sup> Here are omitted the words *tono sohu* (so they prayed) or an equivalent expression.

1 rian tie taru pai le emete Lilitsera  
 mara. Sere iro ka je nautane: inaa  
 uma tie ina uma ha ma nahamai ha  
 inahai to ēta māri kulur wata dida  
 5 le eme ma'u? Atoho ioohai to oowa-  
 ra toho ma'u apnawaluru.

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Kake! anadahale tonono ante ēasilene.  
 Tetu wata ti aun hale-hale kulur ti  
 aun me le ika ina to una tutu. Ka te  
 wata kulur ti nawa saile etu noo  
 35 luku: kaka! ante mara ira anaje,  
 ante asihe iar hihirene to ante  
 oonowali <sup>1)</sup> le mara isarsuile nara  
 na ha enenen ta ina'iri, pana ina-  
 hai; lori liu ina'auni ha ada aun  
 40 toho waunnaa <sup>2)</sup> tata'u he, ihar  
 aun toho waunnaa koukoure he,  
 asa aun toho waunnaa kukruke he.  
 Ante panuwale panlare menuwale

<sup>1)</sup> Oonuale, oonuali.

<sup>2)</sup> Ua unaa.

meti, Tatrara, Oorhanawen, and  
 noticed that the open places and  
 ponds were as they used to be. But  
 no dog was barking anywhere, no  
 cock was crowing anywhere, no fire  
 was smoking anywhere. Then he  
 said: perhaps this is the land that  
 has been acquired by our ancestors,  
 what could it be else! He went on  
 again until he arrived at Huili and  
 when he stood there looking down,  
 he saw Sorleki and Sawalai and  
 noticed that the open places and  
 ponds were as they used to be.  
 Then he descended and entered the  
 gardens and there he found that the  
 coconuts were already getting dry  
 and the bread-fruits were ripe. So  
 he took down coconuts, drank the  
 milk and ate the flesh and also  
 cooked and ate bread-fruits and  
 what remained he packed up and  
 took it with him to Lilit. When he  
 came there, his elder brother asked:  
 we do not know anything about this  
 island, so why have you taken its  
 bread-fruits and coconuts and  
 brought them here? You should not  
 do this lest the masters of the land  
 come and be angry with us!  
 Elder brother! take down my load  
 and I shall tell you about it. Then  
 he peeled a coconut and he took a  
 bread-fruit and gave it to his  
 elder brother to eat and drink. When  
 the brother had finished eating the  
 coconut and the bread-fruit the  
 younger brother said: elder brother!  
 I went to look for water and came  
 on a good path, which I followed  
 till the end and then there was the  
 land that has been acquired by our  
 parents, or what could it be else;

1 ilasa nairi ta uantiri, kulur hohoirā  
 wata titlene to nohe nara apu mara  
 to ede ate asi. Uma tu malnare etu  
 noo-noo kaka Lilitere najamoi le  
 5 ia lapai wat lapai nere le ma'u isar-  
 suile nara noo ēnenen te oone tu-  
 hanu to itaasile ine: na ha enenen  
 ta inairi. Tetu houte le odo ira  
 mudhemara le kulur keite wata di-  
 10 da, losiri laje le kono, Huililutur  
 naa malhemara ia naa luhure le  
 mara Lilitere Eden sere iro.

15

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Sere iro wata losir ti me lehen ina.  
 Ethain na ha enenen ta inairi nara  
 30 timur lapai ulene sodole, warat la-  
 pai me amore, anwai an'katalu to  
 walawalale ante mara ika iro le in-  
 tono walale ma'u na iro ha iro.  
 Tetu ioumakan me aha'uare, ira  
 35 waalesere me jamoi, maluale mallare  
 le mara Liuleli Dailoro iro. Mara uma  
 iro karara ine: inte enenara itu ina-  
 mule panmule naha uhe; iri etu  
 itamanjoore. Momor aalamana enen-  
 40 ara ahi lapai isukasahu to itu ina-  
 mule panumule naha ite lausoro le  
 itu ma'u. Iri etu ioumakan uate  
 saile ikarara asilene: inte Jotowa  
 mara nara upumu aama arusu hari  
 45 insesi to inte mara nara Sunheti,

the open places and ponds were as  
 they used to be, but no fire was  
 smoking anywhere, no dog was  
 barking anywhere, no cock was  
 crowing anywhere. I went on, look-  
 ing about, and the aspect of the  
 land was the same, many bread-  
 fruits were already rotten, many  
 coconuts were dry, so we had better  
 go there together in the morning,  
 that you may see for yourself.  
 When it was fully daylight the  
 brothers went inland from the coast  
 of Lilit and followed the main road  
 till the end and there saw that what  
 the youngest brother had said was  
 quite true, so they said to each  
 other: this is the land that has been  
 acquired by our parents. Then they  
 descended, entered the gardens,  
 knocked off bread-fruits, took down  
 coconuts, cut off palm-leaves, and  
 took them along with them and then  
 they left Huili and went back to the  
 coast of Lilit and Eden, leaving  
 palm-leaves as signs along the  
 road.

When they arrived at the coast  
 they used the remaining palm-  
 leaves to plait a sail. They prayed:  
 if this is the land that has been  
 acquired by our parents, may they  
 stop the strong east wind and make  
 blow a strong west wind which  
 pushes us on so that we quickly  
 reach our brothers and quickly come  
 to our parents. Then they pushed  
 off their canoe after taking in water  
 and food and sailed away to Liuleli  
 Dailoro. When they had landed the  
 elder brothers said: we thought that  
 you had perished but it is not so;  
 then they embraced each other with  
 tears. Again they said: the people  
 of the village thought you had been

- 1 Makarai, Surlali, Waseli, Unameti,  
Tatrara, Sorleki, Sawalai hunu  
tausu lori liu ina'uni; so na ha  
enenen ta inairi pana inahai! To  
5 walale apu ihinani patui nara<sup>1)</sup>  
mara. Tetu wamnaa irusun rain  
omose, iwinanpau leupau nahale le  
rusun rain iakono le etu maluale  
mallare ihinan patu nara<sup>1)</sup> ma'u.  
10 Uma iro kaka je Jahuirimi Larkei  
nalēre, noo-noo je etu uma ti na-  
ware ro naha uma horonwale le  
mara Jalurun Tutu nalēre. Kaka je  
Larkei soli, panwale mara Maalere  
15 soli. Noo-noo je irusun rain me lēre  
le ma'u Soro najēte. Soro naa noo-  
noo luhure Modokai Wadanluturu  
iro. Kaka je Hutleti luhure le mara  
Modokai Wadanluturu iro. Noo-  
20 noo kaka itatatane itanatarate to  
kaka Maalere namire, noo-noo pan-  
wale panlare le ma'u Unameti Ta-  
trara odoirimi irairimi momor matu  
le matu me irau soli hirari lunte  
25 miatene.

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Noo-noo al panwale Huililutur na-

eaten by some big fish, but you are  
alive, all of you, and you have  
come. Then after their canoe had  
been drawn ashore they said to  
their elder brothers: when we arriv-  
ed at Jotowa after having been  
driven on by a strong wind, we saw  
the lands of Sunheti, Makarai, Sur-  
lali, Waseli, Unameti, Tatrara, Sor-  
leki and Sawalai and the open  
places and ponds were as they used  
to be; that must be the land that  
has been acquired by our parents,  
what could it be else! Let us there-  
fore go quickly to our native land.  
Then they all made their boats  
ready, gathered their luggage, load-  
ed it in the boats and left for their  
native land. When they had reach-  
ed the island the eldest brothers  
came in at Jahuirimi Larkei, the  
youngest knew the island already  
and sailed around it to Jalurun Tutu  
where they came in. The eldest first  
stayed in Larkei, but then went on  
to Maalere and stayed there. The  
youngest landed where they had  
arrived and went to Soro with their  
people where they took rest. The  
youngest put up proprietary marks  
from Soro to Modokai Wadanlu-  
tur. The eldest put up proprietary  
marks from Hutleti to Modokai  
Wadanlutur. The brothers met with  
one another and were afraid of one  
another, so the eldest settled in  
Maalere and the youngest went on  
to Unameti Tatrara where they  
made a lontar-palm garden and  
founded the ancient village and  
there they settled down. Afterwards  
the youngest went on again and

<sup>1)</sup> The meaning of nara is not clear in this context, unless it is an abbreviated form of inara, cp. G. N. VIII, § 2.

- 1 jamoi unaa malwale le mara Lilit  
 tausū sise le mara Murun Airete  
 laman naa nae, al panwale mara  
 Mimisala weraa soli hirari. Alten  
 5 panwale panlare le ma'u Dautunu  
 soli hirari, Irara Ililese soli hirari.  
 Modora hihi ere karhou ere le tilue  
 horoke, pēpēle tartaru pai, tono Ira-  
 ra hinan oowaja ahure le al pai.  
 10 Hinan oowaja Irara nautane: apte  
 ina me doro looro uaraha uplaka  
 pai? Iri Irara je ine: apu uha me  
 doro loor pai, nawan me aitoto pai  
 le eme uaraha uplaka pai. Tetu  
 15 Irara doro looro mete ha hinan oo-  
 waja uha sese le doro pai loor pai,  
 nawan aitoto me uaraha uplaka pai  
 le Dautunu taus naa itatatane. Ita-  
 tatane, itanautane hinan oowaja  
 20 etu Irara asilene: itu itaan me ilaike  
 ti! Naha Irara ine: innaha hinan  
 oowaja itaan me ilaike ti! Tetu hi-  
 nan oowaja iaitoto uha ti me ilaike  
 nara Irara tawanahure eme le aito-  
 25 to ti pōte le una, uha ti kīse.
- 30
- 35
- 40 Iōohai to uha eme doro loor pain  
 tie saile nawan aitoto eme uaraha  
 pain tie saile etu Irara idoro looro  
 me ilaike le hinan oowaja me Dau-  
 tun naa aranoure. Dautunu arawai  
 45 naa panwale panlare le ma'u Do-

climbed the wall of Huili and from there they went to the plains of Lilit and next came to the forest of Murun Airete where they took a rest, and then finally they went to the cave Mimisala and stayed there. Afterwards they went on again and stayed at Dautunu or Irara Ililese. The children tended goats and sheep and kerbau and they played at porka and made toy-bows and toy-slugs until at last the Irara-people fell into quarrel with the lords of the land. The lords of the land asked the Irara-people: what shall we take for spears and swords and sling-stones? Then the Irara-people said: we shall make spears and swords out of sugar-cane, we shall make millet-ketupat and use them as sling-stones. Then the Irara-people took real spears and swords but the lords of the land sharpened sugar-cane and made spears and swords out of it, they prepared millet-ketupat and made sling-stones out of them and the two sides met on the plain of Dautunu. They met and consulted each other, the lords of the land saying to the Irara-people: you throw yours first! But the Irara-people said: you, our parents, lords of the land, throw yours first! Then the lords of the land threw their missiles of ketupat and sugar-cane and the Irara-people took hold of them, cut the ketupat and ate them and likewise the sugar-cane. When thus all the spears and swords of sugar-cane, all the sling-stones of millet-ketupat were gone, the Irara-people in their turn threw their missiles and chased the lords of the land away down Dautunu.

- 1 mau taus, odoirimi irairimi unani <sup>1)</sup>  
to unamire soli hirari unaa lunte  
miate. Unaa tono loson pai le  
Ilkesi loso le mara unamire le mo-  
5 mor le me irau soli hirari lunte mia-  
tene. Unaa tono uru irimi toli le ihar-  
ware otoware le na ha odotuale  
odotlare. Tono na ha momor ara  
le ara ti me Loisala, Harsala, Mahi,  
10 Mahada nanorhanawe to soli hira-  
ri naha jemara Horna Werna soli  
hirari. Ratu pain maran pain lause  
Raiwere, Nusawere, A'inlaru, Da-  
mateti. Inaa nami pat apu te ratu  
15 wa'i tono ratu lause maran lause,  
inakesi inalarini. Ratu lause maran  
lause, akesi alarni tono ratu me  
koto etere. Raiwere me Leka nau-  
me, Nusawere me Sairara naume,  
20 A'inlaru me Wartana naume, Da-  
mateti me Radi naume. Noo-noo-  
ra etu Horna-Werna iaa ratu lause  
maran lause unnaa lunte miate  
ro jawani, tinar ika ederemu isa-  
25 hanate ine: apka je na waite ha  
waite naha odowali irawali soli  
hirari, to mahune. Aput mara le de-  
ru sura to ma'u le aput momor le  
uani soli hirari. Mara le iro enne  
30 iwirte ne. Naha noo-noora ine: ma-  
hune, apte na ha uani ta apuai, na-  
ha so ate je soli hirari inte ede ioone  
nara mahune pee. Atoho araraene  
mara to ate noo-noo itamire, ante  
35 naha itamire. Tono adane le inoora  
ahure le Horna-Werna jamoi le lē  
Sorlewen me irau, itaan soli hirari  
lunte miate. Tono usatapu kau-  
nen iro etasa alun iro, ilas pai nair  
40 pai, noo-noo je na ha itamire, kaka  
je modo nami noo-noo itamire. Noo-  
noo kaka imomor le soli hirari lunte

From Dautunu they went to the plain of Domau, laid out lontar-palm gardens and settled down there for good and all. But afterwards they made a choice and chose Ilkesi and there they went and founded a village to stay there for good. There they used to hunt wild animals with dogs when it was full moon and while hunting thus they met with the ancestors. Then the ancestors allotted the ancient village to Loisala, Harsala, Mahi and Mahada as dwelling-places for their people and they themselves went to Horna-Werna and stayed there. There were born four sons: Raiwere, Nusawere, A'inlaru and Damateti. These four sons also begot children, so the tribe multiplied and prospered, rooted in a fixed abode. Therefore now they arranged their lineages. Raiwere ruled over Leka, Nusawere over Sairara, A'inlaru over Wartana and Damateti over Radi. The younger brothers who had settled down for food on mountain Horna-Werna increased in numbers and prosperity, so they remembered with compassion their elder brothers and said: our elder brothers are like father and mother to us, but they have to live in a garden, that is not good. Let us go and ask them to come here and live in one village with us. They went there but the others said that they were ashamed. However, the younger brothers said: it is not good, we have the same parentage; if you stay by yourselves and we do likewise, it will not be good. Do

<sup>1)</sup> Unaa āni — there were; but here the meaning is probably: they had, i. e. they made, laid out.

- 1 miatene tetu iilas pai nair pai, iho-  
 rok pai ijau pai, iratu loro imaran  
 loro. Horok ti me iwaje pee karhou  
 ejeen uda; un me momor mudaa  
 5 laje, un me maluua laje; hai lapai  
 auni, hai modo auni, asa taraleu  
 auni.
- 10
- 15
- 20
- 25 Hinan oowaja tu itaan soli hirari  
 ina lunte miatene, ratu lause maran  
 lause tono pada taanopur apu tono  
 muduhema'u. Inaa hinan tie mumu-  
 kewe ne mumujare nie lēnara tamse  
 30 nalau; tono nenese ahise le ma'u  
 uma wisi lora wisi menhalse men-  
 hakane. Tono uma oowaja sisinasi  
 mara sura waaru nara unaa halhal-  
 se hakahakane. Lukun nautane, wi-  
 35 sar nautane, ilas nautane, nair nau-  
 tane. Lukun itoonehen, wisar itoo-  
 nehen, ilas itoonehen, nair itoone-  
 hen, e <sup>1)</sup> lukunu, wisara, ilas, nair  
 itoonehen ita wās dida ita wās kono.  
 40 Tono pēnu momor le nahemau na  
 ha asile ututu minene. Asilene nara  
 na ha etu ine: mara le lukun wisara,  
 ilas nairi itoonehen ti kasarū to

not refuse our request to come, that you may sit near your younger brothers and we may sit near our father and mother. Then they yielded and went with their younger brothers up to Horna-Werna and founded the house Sorlewen to dwell in for good. And every year when the seeds had germinated and the leaves had fallen, they performed the rites, the younger brothers sitting near their father and mother and the elder brothers sitting near the younger sons. The brothers had settled in their village for good and so they also performed the rites, celebrated the porka-feast, prayed for prosperity. When they were going to finish the porka-feast, they killed two kerbau, one was slaughtered inside the village, one was slaughtered outside the village; further one old pig, one young pig, one cock.

The lords of the land were living there together in prosperity when one day there arrived ten clans of people. The land here smelled delicious and these odours were exhaled by the sky-tree; this was the cause that people from elsewhere drew near the island, noisily and boisterously, and anchored near coasts and capes. The lords of the land observed them and sent messengers to visit them in the places where they were anchored. These messengers inquired into their speech, their language, their customs and rites. There were people whose speech and customs were different, but there were also people whose speech and customs were the same.

<sup>1)</sup> And, and also (?).



- 1 uma eteren ajaren nere. Ilas nair,  
lukun wisara itoonen deru to ma'u.  
Kasakasarana weiweijeene te mara  
iro etu a'ile lāne. Lukun sohon, ilas  
5 nair jehainene kasarū to uma etere-  
ne, uma ajarene mara; lukun soho-  
no italeten kasarū to sukan warate  
le itasissoli hirari. Lukun sohon, ilas  
nair itoonen deru to lēre, ilas nair  
10 me le nahemau, punsoli punhirari.  
Punsoli punhirari ratu lause maran  
lause nahe etu itaalolorina itaasu-  
lare pee tonō Lewenmali Asamali  
ine: nahara itaalolorina itaasulare  
15 nara so mahune to apte petle waru-  
wee etere rekse tonō jāni. Lukun  
itoone wisar itoone tetu rekse etere,  
utu narekse utu nanetere, petil utu  
waru utu. Petil ka je ratu maran  
20 tinairi. Petil ultua waru ultua wu-  
hur tinai. Petil uranin tie waru  
uranin tie noora modora. Tonō petil  
ka ialuana namire to petil ultua ka-  
ka mane taa. Ara taahe nara wadu  
25 umarana wanat umarana sōto le-  
wete enenara uda le eme ada eru  
jamoi. Petil waru uranin nie<sup>1)</sup> ul-  
tua me kaka tawa mane taa. Ara  
manehe taahe nara so nair to uani  
30 tinairi. Petil ka waru ka ma ipetil  
waru naware le me ipetil nere waru  
nere to ma hēlu dānu. Petil ultua  
ma ipetil waru nere, itanakēre lata  
le hēlu dānu. Petil uranini no ioone.  
35 Wadu umarana wanat umarana  
na<sup>2)</sup> inaa wadu wanat tina'iri jo,  
ina'i naire hewete le ihinan soli  
ipatu soli le tūme houte tūme jamoi  
tonō ratu lause maran lause. Nūnu  
40 meda'i naa enenara, itamāne taahe,  
uda manjee pee. Naha wasi tuure  
hanate to wadu isahuna ali oonhai,  
oonluku oonne to iri jalu, odo la-

<sup>1)</sup> Ie, tie.

<sup>2)</sup> Naa.

So they returned to the village and reported about it to their masters. Then the masters said: go and tell the people whose language and customs are different from ours to go to another island. Invite those whose language and customs are not different to come here. When the messengers had arrived they selected and divided the people. Those whose speech and customs were entirely different they sent away to another island, those whose speech and customs differed slightly were sent to the western part of the island all of them and selected dwelling-places for themselves. But those whose speech and customs were the same they invited to land and to live there henceforth together with the inhabitants. They were living there together and prospered and multiplied but they were going to be of one class only, so Lewenmali and Asamali said: it will not be good if there is only one class in the future, therefore we must arrange and divide ourselves into classes, that it may be good. As all agreed they divided the population into three classes. The eldest class was called ratu or marna. The middle class were the wuhur. The last class were the youngest lineage. The eldest class was sitting in its own place and the middle class had to fear and honour it. If anybody did not observe this rule it was formerly the custom to kill him and throw him in a bale-fire. The last class had to fear and to honour the middle class and the eldest class. If this law was violated the culprit

- 1 wan inahoute: karhou ara utu, la-  
 wan amu utu, tua oplese auni, malu  
 sarawaata auni, lau waat auni, la-  
 wan amu aun me waat ti aamore  
 5 pai puine laine. Wadu isahuna naa  
 ina'i naire hewete, aiti inwadu<sup>1)</sup>  
 tiri jo inte ina'i naire hewete. To  
 petil uranini, ultua umarnin māne  
 taahe ha inte inaa wadu isahuna  
 10 sōto lewete ti naire he nara inte so  
 akapare amahune.
- 15
- 20
- 25
- 30
- 35 Kupnin tono Naha nounakun nanē-  
 deremu le ma'u amuli ajala le ma'u  
 mata lolonana solot lolonana aun  
 nahalse hakane he ha Uaraha Lau-  
 ara nahalse hakane. Ka tono houte  
 40 le mara kapal jamoi. Na ha Hor-  
 saire oo wajan Mutasair kasaru to  
 kapal jamoi. Horsair schon naha-  
 mai, wajan Mutasair ta schon na-  
 ware le lukun me panpanne. Noo

<sup>1)</sup> Inaa wadu.

was punished in the same way. The eldest class had to be mindful of its status and marry inside its own class in order to multiply. The members of the middle class also had to marry among themselves. The last class likewise. From the olden times till the present day it has been thus, these rules have always been observed and the people has been living continuously in their native land, prospering and multiplying. As has been mentioned just now, a member of a lower class who did not fear and honour a member of a superior class was going to be killed, his head being cut off. This punishment, however, was too heavy, so in later times it was changed and people decided that the culprit was to pay male old animals and gold bracelets: three head of kerbau, three pieces of gold, one bottle of palm-wine, one bag with sirih, one basket with clothes, and that he was to lay one piece of gold on top of that basket to take away the shame. This custom was observed in later times and we are still observing it in our days. For if this custom were not followed whenever a member of the lowest class did not fear and honour his superiors, we should come to grief. It happened that the Company remembered the promise of the Creator and came to contract an alliance; the did not, however, anchor in a good harbour, but they anchored at Uaraha Lauara. Then the eldest descended to the coast in order to go aboard. The rulers ordered Horsair with his brother-in-law Mutasair to go aboard. Hor-

- 1 ka punuwa'in punmodasen me luku  
tono lodon sair me Horsair ina,  
sorot umajaele me ina, tetu emete  
le houte le lē mara. Le iro dedema-  
5 nahe wajan Mutasair etu Horsair  
aranajaule le ine: ate sohon naha-  
mai to anta ēlukun me panpanne;  
naha adaa atu lodon sair adahale  
ha anut uhe! Tono Horsair asile  
10 ine: kapal te ono apiarahalse ara-  
hakane, nohe tono aptono jamoi le  
ēoopaa uste. Tetu nohe uma ara  
ratu eenapu kapal jamoi le Muta-  
sair oopaa uste tetu tian karhou uru  
15 me jaitapul pain aun me ina, tetu  
houte. Unaa warhalse hakane pee  
naha kira-kira mata mahune. Tetu  
soroke le mara mata solot anaje  
tono Namaluli Namahere nahalse  
20 hakane. Nana uma oowaja ta lodon  
sair ti pale le timur warat utuaa  
mara-mara pee naha na ha wa'ite  
le horokpale jaupale so lodon sair  
pale, timur warat me tawahale nara  
25 so mahune pee. To Horsair taan  
na ha araume to eme aranami le lē  
Resiara Taluara mudunami to pale  
le momor aranin utnate. Ianin na ha  
oonhai to wajan Mutasair ta pale  
30 le momor timurnin utnate.

35

40

45

sair did not know the language, but his brother-in-law Mutasair knew the language, so the latter translated what was said. The people from both sides met and spoke with each other and after that Horsair was presented with a staff and a flag and also with a charter, and he accepted it and then they left the ship and went back to the village. At night the brother-in-law Mutasair upbraided Horsair, saying: you did not know the language, so I acted as interpreter; but then why did you and not I receive a staff and a flag! Then Horsair answered: the ship will be anchored here for some time, tomorrow morning we shall go aboard and ask for your share. So next morning when it was light, the two of them went aboard and Mutasair asked for his share but he received only a staff with a head made of kerbau-horn and then they left the ship. The visitors wanted to stay there for some time but they found their present anchoring-place not good. So they sailed away to look for another harbour and anchored at Namaluli Namahere. The lord of the land who had received the staff and the flag really ought to rule over both the eastern and the western village, however, as he was already leader of the rites and possessed the staff and the flag, it would not be well if he ruled over both villages together. So the rulers decided to entrust the house of Resiara Taluara with the lower village to govern it. As to the upper village they made the arrangement that the brother-in-law Mutasair was to rule over it.

## PLACE AND PROPER NAMES IN THE TEXT

- A'inlaru**, one of the four marna-chiefs of the territory of *Horna-Werna* (132. 13, 20).
- Airete**, see **Murun Airete**.
- Airmodo**, see **Tessakilirin Airmodo**.
- Alhana Lelmaupali**, place name on Kisar (105. 38).
- Apatulatei**, see **Liur(u) Apatulatei**.
- Asa**, name of a constellation (71. 40).
- Asamali**, see **Lewenmali Asamali**.
- Asatiku**, place name on Kisar (127. 31).
- Asoo Mekemhoru**, place name on Kisar (75. 40; 76. 1; 105. 33, 34).
- Dai Ahus**, Kei-islands (103. 32, 39—41); also: *Kei Kouru Dai Ahus* (104. 20).
- Dailora**, see **Liuleli Dailora**.
- Dalkati**, an inhabitant of Kisar (108. 28).
- Dām(a)**, the island of Damar (74. 27).
- Damateti**, one of the four marna-chiefs of the territory of *Horna-Werna* (132. 13, 20).
- Daraslai I**, daughter of *Kaskoi* and married with *Mauara* from Wetar (94. 37).
- Daraslai II**, sister of *Lewenmali Asamali* and married with *Wun'-kai* from Timor (119. 42; 120. 16).
- Dautun(u)**, a mountain on Kisar (131. 5, 44, 45); *Dautun(u)-taus*, the plain of *Dautunu* (131. 18); see also **Irara Ililese**.
- Deliaman Pajaman**, nobles visiting Kisar (97. 22, 38; 98. 2, 4).
- Den**, a part of the coast of Kisar (127. 15); see also **Lilit, Edensere**; the present-day name is *Eden*.
- Domau taus**, the plain of *Domau* on Kisar (131. 45—132. 1).
- Domo**, the island of Roma (71. 39); see also **Upormaha, Romonili Jatanili**.
- Edensere** = **Den** (129. 12).
- Eteasalehen Tuamesin**, place name on Timor (121. 5) (= *Tuamesin Eteasalehen*).
- Eter**, the island of Wetar (71. 39).
- Hakapei**, see **Tutupei**.
- Hakar(a)**, see **Nori Hakar(a)**.
- Harakati**, blood-relation or friend of *Wilaumali Reilaumali* (121. 1; 121. 13).
- Harsala**, a lineage on Kisar (132. 9).
- Heipari I**, an inhabitant of *Jotojaum* (105. 15).
- Heipari II**, a man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 28).
- Hetnara Majakui**, place name on Timor (114. 25).
- Hoko**, see **Huli Hoko**.
- Horna-Werna**, the village and territory of *Lewenmali Asamali* on Kisar (98. 30; 105. 32; 107. 13; 132. 11, 22, 36) (= *Timur-Warat, Oirata*).
- Horohiti Hualaman**, place name on Timor (114. 25—26).
- Horokoko**, eldest son of *Kaskoi* and married with *Romolewen* (94. 38, 40, 43; 95. 2, 3, 7, 13, 16, 28).
- Horsair(e)**, a nobleman of *Horna-*

- Werna*, sent as a delegate to the Hollanders (135. 40, 42; 136. 2, 5, 9, 25).
- Hualaloho*, youngest sister of *Kaskoi* and his 6 brothers (85. 35; 88. 16, 20, 29).
- Hualaman*, see *Horohiti Hualaman*.
- Huaneru Iraeten*, place name on Timor (119. 7).
- Huililutur*, place name on Kisar 127. 38; 128. 10; 129. 10; 130. 42).
- Huimau*, the mythical name of the earth (70. 4).
- Huitetuai*, daughter of *Raisere Wakasere* and married with *Kaskoi* on Timor (111. 9).
- Huli Hoko*, ruler of Roma (103. 38).
- Hulur Wasan*, place name on Timor (119. 9—10).
- Hura Hura*, place name on Kisar (101. 38).
- Hutleti*, place name on Kisar (130. 18).
- Ilhira*, see *Wilriun Ilhira*.
- Iliara Setiara*, place name on Timor (73. 26).
- Ilikesi*, part of the coast of Kisar (80. 18; 132. 4); other names *Ser(e)leunu Ser(e)laini*, *Ser(e)leunu Ser(e)soloto*, *Welkaulu*.
- Ililese*, see *Irara Ililese*.
- Il(i)meti Watmeti*, place name on Timor (115. 1; 116. 34, 36).
- Il(i)wali Laitani*, place name on Kisar (117. 33; 118. 5).
- Il(i)mauata*, place name on Roma (106. 41, 43; 107. 2).
- Iraeten*, see *Huaneru Iraeten*.
- Irara Ililese*, place name on Kisar (131. 6); usually *Irara* (131. 8, 10, 12, 15, 20, 21, 24, 42); other name *Dautun(u)*.
- Irauru Wasairi*, place name on Timor (116. 42; 117. 13, 16, 29—30).
- Jahuirimi Larkei*, place name on Kisar (130. 10); *Larkei* (130. 14).
- Jalurun (Tutu)*, place name on Kisar (80. 10; 130. 13).
- Jawulur*, place name on Kisar (107. 16); the present-day name is *Jawuru*.
- Jewerili*, a mountain on Kisar (107. 8, 11).
- Jōno Sawrama*, place name on Timor (77. 35—36).
- Jotojaum(u)*, village on Kisar (98. 12, 28; 99. 33; 101. 25; 102. 1; 105. 5; 105. 15, 34); the present-day name is *Wonreli*.
- Jotowa*, the island of Kisar (78. 11; 80. 42; 105. 14, 23; 110. 24, 40; 121. 2; 129. 43); also called *Jotowa Lakeru* (105. 14, 43; 121. 2, 12; 127. 14).
- Kaskoi*, youngest brother of *Hualaloho*, youngest son of *Lewenmali Asamali* (89. 2; 94. 4, 19, 25, 34; 108. 30).
- Kei Kouru*, Kei-islands (105. 10, 24; 106. 42; 107. 10); also called *Kei Kouru Dai Ahus* (104. 20).
- Kela*, place name on Kisar (101. 36; 108. 31, 43).
- Kiar Ira Nahir Ira*, place name on Timor (117. 30—31).
- Kikikoro*, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 29).
- Kikmuni*, nobleman of *Resresi Jal-rasi* on Timor, married with *Lelisulai*, sister of *Maanunu Nunlau* (119. 45; 120. 22, 39).
- Koko Maalakelai*, place name on Timor (117. 31—32).
- Kokopini*, bride of *Taheu Lapai* (99. 36; 100. 5, 18).
- Korolila*, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 28).
- Koun(u) Waras(a)*, place name

- on Timor (117.32—33); *Koun* (109.8).
- Kourara**, place name on Kisar (75.9).
- Kukumoumour**, see *Palkahi*.
- Kulkuli Wernetneti**, a mountain on Timor (118.1—2).
- Lailere**, a man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114.28, 37).
- Lailuana**, one of the sky-people (72.5, 16).
- Laitani**, see *Il(i)wali Laitani*.
- Laiwahan(a)**, youngest son of *Kaskoi* and married with *Wakalewen* (94.39, 41; 95.10, 15, 24; 97.8).
- Laka**, a mountain on Timor (82.36; 83.14).
- Lakeru**, see *Jotowa*.
- Lakiliha**, see *Raileki Lakiliha*.
- Lakluan(a)**, one of the sky-people (72.5, 16).
- Laltilu**, sister of *Tātilu*, daughter of *Wadlau*, granddaughter of Sky and Earth (71.30; 72.3, 12).
- Larkei**, see *Jahuirimi Larkei*.
- Larmere**, see *Nehalini Larmere*.
- Launei**, place name on Kisar (127.25).
- La'ur**, the island of *Lakor* (81.3).
- Leka**, one of the 4 lineages of *Horna-Werna*, under the chief *Raiwere* (132.18).
- Lek(e)rai**, place name on Kisar (127.23).
- Lekitou Wonlewen**, ruler or rulers of *Wursere Walusere* on Timor (122.37; 123.3; 124.17, 20).
- Lelisulai**, sister of *Maanunu* on Timor (117.2; 119.44; 120.16).
- Lelmaupali**, see *Alhana Lelmaupali*.
- Lerelai**, one of the 4 sisters and 5 brothers, children of *Tātilu* and a daughter of the sky-people *Lakluana Lailuana* (74.19).
- Leti**, the island of *Leti* (78.37; 125.15).
- Leunu**, village on Kisar (80.14); cp. *Sereleunu*.
- Lewara Masopon**, nobles or rulers on Timor (115.2).
- Lewenkoho**, see *Tokonaka Lewenkoho*.
- Lewenmali Asamali**, the ancestors of the *Horna-Werna (Oirata)* people; usually represented as two brothers, but sometimes as husband and wife (78.42; 79.16; 81.4—5, 9, 13, 25, 33—34, 37, 39—40; 82.2—3, 5, 43; 97.19—20, 25, 32, 40; 98.3—4, 6, 8—9, 13, 19, 20, 26, 32; 107.14; 108.26; 117.37, 38, 40; 118.7; 119.28; 33, 41; 120.19, 20—21, 38; 121.9, 14—15, 36; 122.2, 16—17, 24, 33, 39—40; 124.35, 40—41; 125.22, 41; 134.13); *Lewenmali* mentioned alone (81.25, 27; 122.38—39.44); *Asamali* mentioned alone (122.40; 123.7).
- Lewensimara**, nobleman on *Leti* (122.8; 124.31; 125.20).
- Lilitsere Densere**, a part of the coast of Kisar (127.15; 128.1; 129.4, 12); *Lilit tausū*, the plain of *Lilit* (131.1); the present-day name is *Liti* or *Eden*.
- Lina Teum**, the island of *Teon* (104.1—3).
- Liuleli Dailora**, place name on *Leti* (122.7, 9, 19, 30; 124.30, 38, 42; 125.17, 39; 129.36); the present-day name is *Luhuleli*.
- Liur(u) Apatulatei**, place name on Timor (114.20—21).
- Loikera Palmesi**, a port on Timor (121.8); *Loikera* (109.5).
- Loisala**, a lineage on Kisar (132.9).
- Lolkeliau**, see *Wurkeliau Lolkeliau*.
- Loronwisi**, a cape on Kisar (80.15);

87. 5; 105. 29); another name is *Mahentutun*.
- Lur Saramaa**, place name on Timor (114. 20).
- Maakai**, nobleman of *Resresi Jal-rasi* on Timor, married with *Unaslai*, sister of *Lewenmali Asamali* (119. 43; 120. 22, 39).
- Maakoro**, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 29).
- Maalere**, place name on Kisar (127. 23; 130. 14, 21).
- Maamau**, blood-relation or friend of *Wilaumali Reilaumali* (121. 1, 14).
- Maamuni**, nobleman of *Resresi Jal-rasi* on Timor, married with *Watasulai*, sister of *Maanunu* and *Nunlau* (119. 45; 120. 23, 40).
- Maanunu**, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor, brother of *Watasulai*, who was married with *Maamuni* (114. 29; 115. 4; 119. 31, 43; 120. 38; 126. 3).
- Maasara**, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 30).
- Mahada**, a lineage on Kisar (132. 10).
- Mahi**, a lineage on Kisar (132. 9).
- Majakui**, see *Hetnara Majakui*.
- Makarai**, place name on Kisar (127. 25; 130. 1).
- Makasar(a)**, Makassar (104. 15, 29).
- Mamere**, the mythical personification of the rainbow (82. 37—38); also called *Samere* (83. 8; 84. 10).
- Masamere**, eldest daughter of *Lewenmali Asamali*, also the „female” rainbow (82. 34, 39).
- Masopon**, see *Lewara Masopon*.
- Mauara**, nobleman of Wetar, married with *Daraslai I*.
- Maukou**, the mythical name of the sky (70. 3).
- Mauradi**, see *Sapodo Mauradi*.
- Meheloi**, nobleman on Leti (122. 8; 124. 31; 125. 20).
- Mekemhoru**, see *Asoo Mekemhoru*.
- Mimisala**, place name on Kisar (131. 4).
- Modokai Wadanlutur(u)**, place name on Kisar (130. 17, 19).
- Moraka Samalai**, a plain on Timor (120. 29); also called *Samalai Moraka* (120. 43).
- Murun Airete**, a place name on Kisar (131. 2).
- Mutasair(e)**, a nobleman of *Horna-Werna*, assisting *Horsair* as an interpreter (135. 41, 43; 136. 5, 13, 29).
- Nahir Ira**, see *Kiar Ira*.
- Namahere(n) Namaluli(n)**, place name on the west-coast of Kisar (107. 5); also called *Namaluli(n) Namahere(n)* (136. 19); at present called *Nama*.
- Nami Pitu Ratu**, younger brother of *Ratu Pitu Ratu*, son of *Tātilu* and the daughter of the sky-people *Lakluana* and *Lailuana* (74. 35; 75. 18).
- Nehalin(i) Larmere I**, people on Roma (106. 44).
- Nehalin(i) Larmere II**, slaves of *Raisere Wakasere* on Timor (109. 39).
- No(i)hidai**, a mythical sky-being, husband of *Hualaloho* (85. 37; 88. 15, 20, 22, 26, 29, 34, 37, 41; 94. 4).
- No'iliare**, a mountain on Kisar (98. 21).
- Nori Hakar(a)**, people of *Jotojaum* on Kisar (105. 5, 22—23).
- Nunlau**, man at *Roson Wadumura*



- on Timor (114. 29; 115. 4; 119. 32, 44; 120. 38).
- Nunsara**, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 30).
- Nusamesi Totina**, an island (78. 36).
- Nusawere**, one of the four marna-chiefs of the territory of *Horna-Werna* (132. 13, 19).
- Oirawan**, place name on the coast of Kisar (77. 37).
- Oiriata**, **Oiriaka**, the village of Oirata (121. 31, 34); mythical names: *Horna-Werna*, *Timur-Warat*.
- Oorhanawen**, place name on Kisar (127. 32).
- Pajaman**, see *Deliaman Pajaman*.
- Palkahi Pukmoumour**, place name on Kisar (82. 36; 83. 5); also called *Pukmo(u)mo(u)r Palkahi* (97. 23) and *Kukumoumour Palkahi* (97. 24).
- Palmesi**, see *Loikera Palmesi*.
- Peri**, place name on Leti (125. 39).
- Pukmomor**, see *Palkahi Pukmoumour*.
- Punan**, place name on Leti (125. 40).
- Radi**, one of the four lineages of *Horna-Werna*; chief: *Damateti* (132. 20).
- Raileki Lakiliha**, name of a village and of its ruler on Timor (109. 8; 117. 34—35; 118. 8).
- Raisere Wakasere**, a nobleman on Timor, father-in-law of *Kaskoi* (109. 29—30, 43; 112. 29—32).
- Raiwere**, one of the four chiefs of *Horna-Werna* (132. 13, 18).
- Ratu Pitu Ratu**, son of *Tātilu* and the daughter of the sky-people *Lakluana* and *Lailuana* (74. 34).
- Rawiru**, sister and wife of *Ratu Pitu Ratu* (74. 36).
- Reilaumali Wilaumali**, see *Wilaumali Reilaumali*.
- Resiara Taluara**, a lineage of *Horna-Werna* on Kisar (136. 27).
- Resi(j)otowa**, an inhabitant of *Ja-wulur* on Kisar (107. 16, 19).
- Resresi Jalrasi**, a place name on Timor (117. 40—41; 119. 18, 39; 120. 18; 121. 17).
- Romolewen**, wife of *Horokoko* and afterwards of his brother *Laiwahan* (94. 39; 96. 3; 97. 7).
- Romonili Jatanili**, the island of Roma (103. 36—37, 45; 104. 4, 16; 105. 6—7, 20—22).
- Roson Wadumura**, place name on Timor (114. 26, 42—43).
- Rueru**, sister and wife of *Nami Pitu Ratu* (75. 12).
- Rupitali Wanoro**, the „sky-tree noble” or „sky-tree prince” (*lên-ara ratu*) (79. 5); also called *Rupitali Wonara* (79. 11; 82. 7).
- Rusukoun**, an inhabitant of Kisar (108. 27—28).
- Sairara**, one of the four lineages of *Horna-Werna*; chief: *Nusawere* (132. 19).
- Sakian**, place name on Leti (125. 40).
- Samalai Moraka**, see *Moraka Samalai*.
- Samere**, see *Mamere*.
- Sapodo Mauradi**, name of Porka-house on Leti (122. 10—11).
- Saramaa**, see *Lur Saramaa*.
- Sawalai**, place name on Kisar (127. 39; 130. 2).
- Sawrama**, see *Jōno Sawrama*.
- Sereleun(u) Serelain(i)**, part of the coast of Kisar; other names: *Ilikesi*, *Sereleun(u) Seresoloto* (74. 23; 76. 2; 80. 1; 81. 42—43), *Seresoloto* (95. 7).

- Ser(e)waru Tutukei**, place name on Leti (78. 13—13; also called *Tutukei Ser(e)waru* (79. 9, 21, 22—23; 122. 6; 124. 29).
- Setiara**, see *Iliara Setiara*.
- Siwilai**, an inhabitant of Kisar (108. 27).
- Soomauresi**, an inhabitant of Kisar (108. 27).
- Sorleki**, a place name on Kisar (127. 39; 130. 2).
- Sorlewen**, the name of the clan-house of *Horna-Werna* (132. 37).
- Soro**, place name on Kisar (130. 16).
- Sunheti**, place name on Kisar (127. 25; 129. 45).
- Surihi**, daughter of *Hualaloho* and *No(i)hidai* (87. 29).
- Surlali**, place name on Kisar (127. 24; 130. 1).
- Tadlai**, man at *Roson Wadumura* on Timor (114. 28, 38).
- Taheu Lapai**, an inhabitant of *Jo-tojaum(u)*, brother of *Taheu Modo-modo* (99. 34, 35; 100. 1, 8).
- Taheu Modo-modo**, brother of *Taheu Lapai* (99. 34—35; 100. 24, 26).
- Taluara**, see *Resiara Taluara*.
- Tātilu**, son of *Wadlau*, grandson of Sky and Earth, brother and afterwards husband of *Laltilu* (71. 30; 72. 2, 6, 11, 16).
- Tatrara**, place name on Kisar (127. 32; 130. 2); also *Unameti Tatrara* (130. 22).
- Tawan Waruana**, the World-Serpent (lit. who measures the years or the periods of time) (72. 1).
- Tessakalirin Airmodo**, place name on Kisar (105. 31).
- Tetikai**, nobleman of Wetar, married with *Unaslai* (94. 38).
- Teum**, see *Lina Teum*.
- Timur-Warat**, the village of *Horna-Werna* on Kisar (99. 19—20; 101. 24—25; 121. 31); at present called *Oirata*.
- Toinaman**, place name on Leti (125. 39—40).
- Tokonaka Lewenkoho**, goldsmith at *Serwaru Tutukei* on Leti (78. 18).
- Totina**, see *Nusamesi Totina*.
- Tuamesin Eteasalehen**, place name on Timor (109. 11—12); also *Eteasalehen Tuamesin* (121. 5).
- Tutu**, see *Jalurun (Tutu)*.
- Tutukei**, place name on Leti; cp. *Ser(e)waru Tutukei*.
- Tutupei Hakapei**, one of the rulers of Roma (103. 37, 40, 43, 44).
- Tutwatu**, place name on Kisar (127. 25).
- Uaraha Lauara**, place name on the south-coast of Kisar („Black rock”) (135. 38).
- Umana Serna**, Timor („Mother of Islands”) (73. 21, 25; 108. 29; 109. 4; 121. 4; 122. 12, 35; 124. 36; 71. 37—38; 73. 21, 25).
- Unameti**, place name on Kisar (127. 32; 130. 1); also *Unameti Tatrara* (130. 22).
- Unaslai I**, daughter of *Kaskoi* and married with *Tetikai* from Wetar (94. 37).
- Unaslai II**, sister of *Lewenmali Asa-mali* and married with *Maakai* from Timor (119. 42; 120. 16).
- Upormaha**, the mythical name of Roma (71. 39); see also *Domo, Romonili Jatanili*.
- Urualauten**, place name on Timor (109. 12; 110. 24).

- Usara Wesara**, youngest son of *Nami Pitu Ratu* (75. 19, 31—32).
- Wadanlutur(u)**, see **Modokai Wadanlutur(u)**.
- Wadlau**, the mythical progenitor of the *Horna-Werna* people, son of Sky and Earth (71. 24).
- Wadumura**, see **Roson Wadumura**.
- Wakalewen**, wife of *Laiwahan* (94. 40; 97. 7).
- Wakasere**, see **Raisere Wakasere**.
- Wanoro**, see **Rupitali Wanoro**.
- Waras(a)**, see **Koun(u) Waras(a)**.
- Wariesi**, daughter of the first human beings on Kei, younger sister of *Wuriesi* and married with a man from Teon (104. 1).
- Wartana**, one of the four lineages of *Horna-Werna*; chief: *A'inlaru* (132. 20).
- Wasairi**, see **Irauru Wasairi**.
- Wasan**, see **Hulur Wasan**.
- Waseli**, place name on Kisar (127. 24; 130. 1).
- Watapui**, slave of *Kokopini*, the bride of *Taheu Lapai* (100. 6).
- Watasulai**, sister of *Nunlau* on Timor (117. 2; 119. 44; 120. 16).
- Watmeti**, see **Il(i)meti Watmeti**.
- Wa'uwara**, a pit on Kisar (86. 16, 21—22).
- Welkaulu**, part of the coast of Kisar (75. 6); cp. **Ilikesi**.
- Wernetneti**, see **Kulkuli Wernetneti**.
- Wero Wera**, a group of small islands, probably near Damar; at present the Malay name is *pulau<sup>2</sup> terbang* (flying islands) (73. 11; 74. 27).
- Wersere Darsere**, place name on Timor (77. 1).
- Weru**, a cape on Timor (73. 13; 74. 33; 75. 1).
- Wer(u)tutun Wer(u)wain**, mythical gold- and ivory-island (77. 40; 80. 45; 92. 31—32, 35; 71. 37).
- Wilaumali Reilaumali**, the rulers of Leti (79. 13; 120. 45; 121. 9—10, 24, 30, 32, 35, 43; 122. 14, 15—16, 23, 29; 124. 33, 39); also called *Reilaumali Wilaumali* (78. 14).
- Wilriun Ilhira**, a dog of *Maanunu* and *Nunlau* on Timor (117. 18).
- Wonlewen**, see **Lekitou Wonlewen**.
- Wun'kai**, nobleman from *Resresi Jalrasi* on Timor, married with *Daraslai*, sister of *Lewenmali Asamali* (119. 43; 120. 22, 39).
- Wuriesi**, elder sister of *Wariesi* and married with *Tutupei* from Roma (103. 43, 44; 104. 5).
- Wurkeliau Lolkelliau**, rulers of Lakor, wife and husband (81. 4, 6, 14—15, 18, 21, 36); *Lolkelliau* mentioned alone (81. 23, 24, 26).
- Wursere Wal(u)sere**, place name on Timor (77. 36; 122. 13, 35—36).

## VI

### SUMMARY

- 70.1—71.11 In the beginning Sky (Maukou) and Earth (Huimau) were one. [There was no light. There were four birds: Eagle, Pigeon, Weed-bird, and Magpie. At the request of Magpie the Creator created the alternation of
- 71.22—72.19 day and night.] Sky and Earth begot a son, Wadlau, who pulled out one of his ribs and transformed it into a woman. Their offspring were 6 male demons (supernatural giants) and 2 human children, a boy, Tātilu, and a girl, Laitilu. The 6 demons separated Sky and Earth, produced the waters of land and sea, and were transformed into 4 islands (Wertutun Werwain, Timor, Wetar, and Roma), the Bird in the Sky, and the World-Serpent. Tātilu jumped up to the Sky-people Lakluana and Lailuana, who had stolen his gold, and married their daughter, with whom he begot 4 daughters and 5 sons. [This took place in the upper sky. Afterwards Tātilu
- 72.19—73.30 descended to a seven-storied house in the central story of the sky, where he married his own sister, Laitilu. When their children (4 sons and 1 daughter) had grown up, the Creator made them choose between the East (their native land, represented by loin-cloths) and the West (Europe, represented by European things). The eldest son and the next chose the West and, after long wanderings, arrived in England and in Holland respectively. The two youngest sons chose the East; the eldest went to Timor, and the youngest to Kisar]. They sailed to Kisar, using one of the
- 74.12—75.18 sky-stories as a boat. On their way one of the brothers, Lerelai, was changed into stone when he dove into the water to loosen the anchor, which had stuck. At Kisar the Creator ordered them to return. They lost one brother and one sister, who, tired to death, jumped into the sea and became whales. The remaining two brothers and one sister were shipwrecked. The eldest brother, Ratu Pitu Ratu, and the sister, Rawiru, swam to Timor, married and settled there. The youngest brother, Nami Pitu Ratu, made a boat out of sea-foam and sailed to Kisar in certain places of which he recognized his elder brother's features. He married a woman, named Rueru, sent down by the Creator in a seven-storied house, and begot 7 daughters
- 75.18—78.11 and 7 sons. The youngest son, Usara Wesara, found a fully-equipped canoe at Ilikesi. His six elder brothers, with two of the sisters, sailed away in this canoe, visited Timor to buy sirih and pinang, tried to return to Kisar, but were borne down by the strong west-monsoon until they finally landed at Wertutun Werwain, the gold- and ivory-land. When they left
- 78.11—80.3 the island, they took in sand by way of ballast and this sand was found to be really gold. So they went to Serwaru Tutukei, on the island of Leti, to

have it cast and welded. They became friends with the masters of the island, Reilaumali and Wilaumali, on whose request Totonaka Lewenkoho, the goldsmith, undertook to treat the gold in the proper way. While they (from now on called: Lewenmali and Asamali) were staying on Leti, the island was visited by the sky-tree prince Rupitali Wanoro. The six rulers (chiefs) of Leti, who went to receive the visitor in state, were not able to tow his boat, so Lewenmali and Asamali did this for them, and recognized Rupitali Wanoro as their relative. Rupitali Wanoro taught them a ritual (the game of „hela rotan”) and told them to return to their native land,

80.1—81.3 Kisar. When they arrived there, they found that their father and their youngest brother, who had stayed with him, had become coral-stone, except only their father's face, which was still able to speak. When looking for food, they discovered a kerbau, but their father told them, that this was flesh for a certain ritual use only. Then they discovered goats, which had formerly been caterpillars, and went to Lakor to inquire whether they

81.3—82.11 were eatable. On Lakor they became friends with Wurkeliau and Lolkeliau, whom they taught how to beget children. When the woman, Wurkeliau, was pregnant, there was a feast, at which Lewenmali and Asamali became acquainted with goats' meat. They returned to Kisar and found that, during their absence, their father's face too had become coral. The island was in danger of being flooded. It was already hanging over, but Lewenmali and Asamali succeeded in pulling it straight by means of the ritual game that they had learned from Rupitali Wonara and which was to benefit the prosperity of man and beast.

82.34—85.34 The eldest daughter(?) of Lewenmali and Asamali, Masamere, got acquainted with Mamere (the rainbow), who became her lover. The two met in secret, but were betrayed by an old woman. The girl's brothers waylaid and killed Mamere and chopped him to pieces. When their sister came to the meeting-place, she dreamt what had happened and found many swords. She took these home and used them to pay the bride-price for her elder brothers' wives. In exchange she asked them to chop wood for her. When she had a big pile of wood, she burnt herself to death and, together with the smoke, rose up to the sky, where she became the smoke-coloured female rainbow.

85.34—89.15 After this her younger sister, Hualaloho, was carefully concealed and her youngest brother, Kaskoi, was ordered to keep watch over her. Yet she was visited by a man, Noihidai, who entered through the window. She became pregnant and when her brothers discovered it, they resolved to kill her. She was saved by her youngest brother, Kaskoi, who hid her in a hole under the ground and fed her with crickets and grass-hoppers. She gave birth to a girl, Surihi, and persuaded a cock to go and fetch the child's father. The cock went to Noihidai's village in the sky and crew out its message. Noihidai and his people descended to the earth with clothes for mother and child and took them to the upperworld. One day her

89.15—91.23 child, Surihi, found a blow-gun arrow, which Hualaloho recognized as

- Kaskoi's. The latter, having lost his arrow, was given the power to jump up to the upperworld, where he arrived at the gateway of Noihidai's village. He was recognized by his sister, who took him home but, as she was afraid of her husband, hid him in a pigsty. When her husband, Noihidai, came home and found out what had happened, he upbraided his wife and treated
- 91.23—94.24 Kaskoi as an honoured guest. When the latter came back on earth with much good food, his brothers robbed him of it and forced him to tell where he had been. Now they likewise wanted to visit their sister and to offer her her share of the gold of Wertutun Werwain. Together with Kaskoi as a guide they arrived at Hualaloho's house, where they were received with scorn and contempt, whereas Kaskoi was treated with every possible mark of honour and regard. When they were going to leave, Noihidai and his wife gave him a sacred sword, a sacred spear, thousand jingling-bells, and good cattle. The elder brothers received cattle with broken feet and blind eyes. When Kaskoi and his followers and cattle, who went in front, arrived on earth, he cut the rotan-tree by which they had descended in two with his sacred sword, so that the sky with the elder brothers went up.
- 94.29—97.13 Kaskoi married his elder brothers' wives and begot 4 children: two daughters and two sons. The daughters, Unaslai and Daraslai, married with men of Wetar: Tetikai and Mauara, and the sons, Horokoko and Laiwahan, married with Romolewen and Wakalewen. While Horokoko was away on a visit to his sisters in Wetar, Laiwahan took Romolewen as a second wife. On coming home, Horokoko killed Laiwahan. Romolewen committed suicide by jumping into a hole that she had made by supernatural means. She and Laiwahan became crabs.
- 97.18—98.34 One night the island of Kisar was visited by Deliaman and Pajaman. Lewenmali and Asamali asked them whence they had come, but they pretended not to have come from anywhere and to have been living there of old. When they were put to the test, however, they had to acknowledge that Lewenmali and Asamali were the lords of the land. At their request to be allowed to stay Lewenmali and Asamali gave them the village Jotojaum. Their own village was Horna-Werna. Further they agreed to divide the land into two equal parts, the eastern part belonging to Lewenmali and Asamali and the western part to Deliaman and Pajaman. The two villages were not to intermarry because their languages were different. The village of Lewenmali and Asamali (Horna-Werna) was a double village, usually called the east-west village. [Later on the Creator
- 98.34—  
102.11 gave them a sign that they should intermarry, but they did not, and so it has remained up to the present day. It may be different in the future, the chief difficulty being the large marriage-gifts demanded by the Jotojaum people.]
- 103.29—  
106.2 The rulers of Roma: Tutupeï Hakapeï and Huli Hoko, visited Dai Ahus (Kei). Tutupeï married with a Kei woman, Wuriesi, and, after paying the marriage-gift, took her to Roma. There he died and then his wife was abused by the men of the village. She sent a message to her seven brothers



- on Kei, who then sailed off to Roma. Before they had arrived there, Roma was visited by two nobles from Jotojaum: Nori and Hakar, on their way to Kei. At her request they took Wuriesi along with them. However, when they noticed her riches, they took her to Jotojaum, robbed her of her gold, and used two large pieces to cover the eastern and western garret-windows of the house. When Wuriesi's brothers arrived at Roma and heard of their sister's departure with the Jotojaum people, they sailed to Kisar, and recognized Wuriesi's two pieces of gold, one in the East and one in the West. They went home and requested the Creator to allow them to tug
- 106.2— some other island along and to enlarge their own territory with it. The Creator assented, but forbade them to meddle with two small islands in the centre (Roma and Kisar). They did not, however, mind this interdiction and tried to pull away these two islands. Their attempt failed and all their boats were scattered and wrecked except one, which went away and was seen or heard of no more.
- 107.22
- 108.24— When through the efforts of the Kei people the island of Kisar was shaken and flooded, Lewenmali and Asamali fled and sailed away in the direction of Timor. Their younger brother, Kaskoi, discovered that they were gone and likewise sailed to Timor, taking along with him all his belongings and a female kerbau, which he used as a boat. He landed at Urualauten, built a seven-storied house, and made free with the plantation of Raisere Wakasere. He used their pinang and sirih, ate their fruit, and blackened himself. Yet he became friends with the owner, who took him
- 110.22— to his house as a guest. The daughters of the house abhorred the black man and refused to do anything for him except the youngest, who served him and even allowed him to sleep with her. Next morning, after having bathed and dressed up outside the village, the two returned in state and now the elder sisters were jealous of the youngest and tried their best to win the visitor's favour. They failed, however, in anything he asked them to do, the youngest only proving up to any test. So these two married. They begot 7 daughters and 7 sons.
- 114.5—
- 116.35 When the sons were old enough, they worked the fields together with their maternal uncle. At first all went well, but afterwards they quarrelled with their uncle and retired to the central part of the island; there they settled down in Roson Wadumura. Here they quarrelled with each other and the elder brothers, Lailere and Tadalai, expelled the younger brothers, Maanunu and Nunlau, who fled to Ilmeti Watmeti. Here they happened to meet with people of Leware Masopon and became their friends and creditors. When the debtors put off paying, Maanunu and Nunlau stole their child. This was discovered, the child was rescued by its parents, and
- 116.35— Maanunu and Nunlau were then besieged in Ilmeti Watmeti. As they
- 119.19 were afraid of the superior power of the enemy, they descended by means of steps cut in the roots of the waringin (the sacred tree in the centre of the village) and were guided to Irauru Wasairi by the bird Eleula Patkula, and then to a spring in a cave by their dog Wilriun Ilhira. But this



dwelling-place was not suitable to keeping cattle, so they travelled on till they arrived at Ilwati Laitani, where they met with Raileki and Lakiliha and learned from these that their elder brothers Lewenmali and Asamali were at Resresi Jalrasi and that there was war. They went on to Resresi Jalrasi, where they were recognized by Lewenmali and Asamali as their  
 119.28—  
 120.44 younger brothers. The four brothers stayed together and gave their sisters in marriage to the lords of the land: Unaslai and Daraslai, the sisters of Lewenmali and Asamali, married with Maakai and Wun'kai; Lelisulai and Watasulai, the sisters of Maanunu and Nunlau, married with Kikmuni and Maamuni.

One day, Maamuni insulted his wife and her family by accusing his brothers-in-law of sorcery. The four women were ashamed and went to Lewenmali and Asamali to complain. They were ordered to leave their husbands and to challenge them to a fight in the name of their brothers. This fight took place and the four husbands were vanquished and killed.  
 120.44—  
 122.7 While pursuing the enemy, the four brothers met with Reilaumali and Wilaumali, who were looking for their friends Harakati and Maamau. When they were eating together at Resresi Jalrasi, the water there was found to be greasy and putrid owing to the numerous corpses of killed enemies. Therefore Reilaumali and Wilaumali resolved to go to Kisar whither the others intended to follow them later. From that day Reilaumali and Wilaumali called the lineage of Lewenmali, Asamali, Maanunu, and Nunlau: Oiriata or Oiriaka, which means "bad water", and the people on Kisar followed this example and called the east-west village Oiriata, Oirata.

On their way to Kisar Lewenmali and Asamali touched at Tutukei  
 122.7—  
 125.42 Serwaru, on Leti, where Reilaumali and Wilaumali were still staying. At the same time this village was visited by Meheloi and Lewensimara, nobles from Liuleli Dailora, in Timor, who were in want of a human head in order to celebrate a porka-feast, and who therefore requested Reilaumali and Wilaumali to fetch one for them from Wursere Walusere, in Timor, where they had a claim. Reilaumali and Wilaumali passed this request on to Lewenmali and Asamali, who were willing to comply with it. They sailed to Timor, made friends with the lord of Wursere Walusere, Lekitou Wonlewen, murdered him in his sleep, and carried off his head. When they arrived at Tutukei Serwaru, they were invited by Meheloi and Lewensimara to go with them to Liuleli Dailoro. There they were offered gold for the head, but they refused. Then they were offered girls, but they refused again. At last an old woman understood that they wanted land. So they were offered land and accepted.

They settled on their newly-acquired land, but the younger brothers  
 125.42—  
 129.34 got into trouble in consequence of an obscene trick played upon a woman by Maanunu, and sailed away to Kisar, which they recognized as their native land. So they sailed back to Liuleli Dailoro and told their elder  
 129.34—  
 133.7 brothers, Lewenmali and Asamali, of their discovery. Together they went to Kisar and then the elder and the younger brothers separated and

wandered in opposite directions. When they met with each other afterwards, they were afraid of each other and settled in different places. The younger brothers, after having been driven away from Dautunu by the people of Irara, went to Ilikesi and stayed there. After more migrations the offspring of all the brothers settled for good and all in Horna-Werna.

133.25—

135.11 One day they were visited by ten clans of strangers, who were attracted by the odours exhaled by the sky-tree. The lords of the land divided them into three groups. Those whose language and customs were entirely different from theirs, had to leave the island. Those whose speech and ways differed slightly only, were sent to the western part of the island, and those who were not different either in speech or in customs, were allowed to stay and live together with them. But as Lewenmali and Asamali had thought it would not be well if there were one class of people only, they divided themselves into three classes: marna, wuhur and the youngest lineage, who had to observe definite rules of conduct towards each other.

135.35—

the end At last the Company (the Hollanders) came to contract an alliance with them. The chief, Horsair, was presented with a silver-headed staff, a flag, and a charter; and his brother-in-law, Mutasair, who had acted as an interpreter, received a staff with a head of kerbau-horn. As Horsair was already leader of the rites and now also possessed the staff and the flag, the house of Resiara Taluara was to rule over the lower (western) village, and Mutasair was to govern the upper (eastern) village.

## VII

### ETHNOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The first word of our myth is one of the names of the creator: *Apna-Apha* (our mother-our father), who is stated to have caused Sky and Earth to be one. This being, who is thus placed outside nature, is more often called *Na-Ha* (mother-father). Several other names are relating to his creative functions: *Rat(u)pain*, *Maranpain*, *Ratupain Maranpain* (maker of Marna-people); *Moodasin oowaja*, *Wa'in oowaja*, *Modowa'in oowaja* (lord of creatures); *Medenamen Mederitmun*, *Mederitmun Medenamen* (who raises, namely: the lands out of the primeval waters); *Hū pain(i) Dau pain(i)* (maker of pottery, i.e. creator of even the small material things); and combinations of some of the foregoing names like *Apna-Apha Wa'in oowaja Modasin oowaja*. He is also frequently called *Uru-Wadu* (Moon-Sun).

The mythical names of sky and earth: *Maukou* and *Huimau* show them to be conceived as male and female, for the initial elements *Mau-* and *Hui-* are used in male and female proper names respectively (see p. 23 ff.). This type of assonance of paired names (the initial element of one being the final element of the other) is not uncommon. Another, still more common, type of assonance consists in the two final elements being identical, as e.g. in *Tātilu* and *Lātilu*. The relation between two people thus connected by assonance of names may be of different kinds: husband-wife (e.g. *Lolkeliau-Wurkeliau*); brothers (e.g. *Lewenmali-Asamali*, *Lailere-Tadlai*, *Maanunu-Nunla'u*); brother-sister (*Tātilu-Lātilu*); sisters (*Unaslai-Daraslai*). As the narrative style is very concise — the term telegraphese would not be altogether inapplicable, sometimes — it is not always clear what relation is meant; occasionally, in fact, the narrators themselves were in doubt. This is less strange than it may seem, since married couples, pairs of brothers, and pairs of friends may substitute each other in certain mythical conceptions.

In its primeval state nature is darkness, enveloping two trees and four birds. One of the trees, the waringin, is undoubtedly the material representative of the sky-tree (*lēnara*, also called *ahanara*: tree of power), closely associated with the upperworld, the superhuman world, the Creator, who in this quality is known as *lēnara ratu* (sky-tree prince) with *Rupitali Wanoro* as his proper name. Secondly, the sacred waringin in the centre of the village also represents the ruling Marna or rather his supernatural power and authority, which he owes to his superhuman descent. The eagle,

alighting on the top of the waringin, thereby shows his identity: he is the upperworld bird, a well-known and widely-spread mythical conception, one of the most stable elements in archaic cosmology. It is therefore not a mere guess, when we suggest that the other tree, whose botanical identity we have not been able to determine, is associated with the netherworld, in the first place the earth, which in that case is also represented by the pigeon on top of it. The weed-bird too is clearly characterized as an earthly being, whereas the magpie, sitting on a branch of the waringin, in other words between sky and earth, has on this ground already to be considered an intermediate mythical figure between the two worlds. This is confirmed by his rôle in the drama of creation. His proposal to create the alternation of day and night is accepted by the Creator; so he is the "light-bringer", a typical culture-hero trait, as is also his concern about human culture as shown by his instituting the division of labour between the sexes.

Next comes the birth of the first human being, *Wadla'u*, from the union of Sky and Earth, i.e. of the two halves of Cosmos. It is again a word of the Creator to which this event is due; so he continues to direct the course of events by means of occasional interference, without losing himself in the forces of nature. The first man, *Wadla'u* (sun-cloth) transforms one of his ribs into a woman. It is not necessary to ascribe this trait to biblical influence, as the connection rib-moon belongs to the most common mythical associations. At any rate it is obvious that the first couple again represents the primeval duality of which the mythical antithesis male sun < female moon is but one of the innumerable manifestations.

We meet with it again in their offspring: 6 demons besides the boy *Tātilu* and the girl *Lātilu*. After forcibly separating Sky and Earth, the 6 demons fill up the whole space between, and continue the work of creation. The seven-storied space above the earth, which we shall encounter again, and more than once, in the mythical seven-storied house (*dadān pitu sorlewen*) is in this connection identified with the demons' "sevenfold soles", from which now gush forth the waters of land and sea. After this they further materialize themselves into the 3 islands which form the greater part of the world known to Oirata: Timor, Wetar, and Roma, the mythical "gold and ivory land" *Wertutun Werwain*, and 2 mythical beings, of which one, the "Bird in the sky", belongs to the upperworld, whereas the other, the "World-serpent" *Tawan Waruana* (measurer of years), is a netherworld being. The meaning of the mythical name of Roma: *Upormaha* is unknown. According to Riedel (op. cit. p. 412), *Upormaha* was a sea-being worshipped by Oirata. At any rate there are no indications of Roma, Timor and Wetar belonging to the upperworld. *Wertutun Werwain* certainly has upperworld associations: it is a gold island, its sand being mysteriously changed into gold, and its ruler is *Rupitali Wanoro*, the "sky-tree prince". The bird in the sky is called *Asa*, which especially means "fowl". At present this sky-bird is identified with some constellation. The upperworld character of this kind of birds also appears from the passage about *Hualaloho* and

*Noihidai*, in which a cock flies to the village of the sky-people and, alighting on the waringin there, crows out a message.

The boy *Tātilu* has gold, which is stolen by sky-people. His supernatural power enables him to create a connecting road between earth and sky. But his sister has not the power to use it, although she is of the same descent. The reason is clear: *Tātilu* has to go himself because it is his destiny to marry the sky-woman, and the theft of gold by his future parents-in-law is to be interpreted as an expedient to allure him. The theft might also have the significance of a forced payment of the marriage-gift, but in modern Oirata the payment of gold is not required, whereas in other communities, on Kisar as well as on other islands, Marna-marriages cannot well be contracted without it. It is more probable, therefore, that this passage is meant to intimate that the gold will be restituted to its owner after his marriage. Later on we shall meet another instance of gold and other goods being paid in connection with a similar mythical marriage.

At this point: the marriage of *Tātilu*, the narrative splits up into 2 versions, referred to as A and B, of which B is only concerned with the marriage of *Tātilu* and the settling of their offspring on Timor and Kisar. According to A the children of *Tātilu* and the daughter of the sky-people *Lailuana* and *Lakluana* are 4 daughters and 5 sons. These, using one of the sky-stories as a boat, set out for Kisar, but are forbidden to land there by the Creator, who creates the group of islands *Wero Wera*, near Damar. They sail on, but are shipwrecked, and now there are only 2 brothers and 1 sister left. The eldest of the 2 brothers, *Ratu Pitu Ratu*, settles with his sister *Rawiru*, who becomes his wife, on Timor. The youngest, *Nami Pitu Ratu*, reaches Kisar in a boat of sea-foam, and marries *Rueru*, a sky-woman, sent down by the Creator in a seven-storied house. According to B, which was on second thoughts interpolated by the narrators as a separate episode, *Tātilu* marries with his own sister *Laltilu* in a seven-storied house, let down by the Creator, and begets 4 sons and 1 daughter, whom the Creator orders to choose between western civilization and their own culture. The two brothers who choose the West arrive at *Wero Wera*, where they find a fully-equipped canoe. They are shipwrecked, however, and separate: the eldest brother goes to Timor and the youngest arrives at Kisar in a boat of sea-foam. It is quite evident that we have not to do with successive episodes in the course of events, but with two different versions of one episode: the marriage of the ancestral couple and the first settling of their offspring on Timor and Kisar. Version B has this special trait that it also accounts for the existence of the western world, represented by the English and the Hollanders, but apart from that the difference between the two versions is quite immaterial. Of course *Lailuana* and *Lakluana* in the sky are really *Tātilu's* and *Laltilu's* parents. *Tātilu* has to marry his own sister, but either version tries in its own way to give a less offensive aspect to this event, A being more effectual in this matter than B, which seems to suggest, however, that *Tātilu* after his stay in the sky is not aware of his

second wife *Laltilu* being his sister. According to A the marriage with a sky-woman in a seven-storied house is contracted by the youngest brother of the next generation after his settling on Kisar, about whose marriage B is silent. Both versions clearly intimate that *Tātilu*'s marriage is contracted by the will of the Creator. The two versions differ as to the number of children, but both mention the existence of 2 brothers and 1 sister at the time when they separate after being shipwrecked. In both versions are mentioned the arrival at *Wero Wera* and the boat of sea-foam used by the youngest brother. The finding of a fully-equipped canoe, which B ascribes to the younger sons of *Tātilu*, is met with again as an adventure of his youngest grandson on Kisar. So here again, as with regard to the marriage with the woman in the seven-storied house, there is a mixing-up of generations. We shall meet with such inaccuracies again and again, but they are not due to mere slovenliness or lack of knowledge on the part of the narrators. It is really the same mythical events of essential interest that happen again and again. The personalities, or rather their names, may be changed, the adventitious circumstances may vary in each case, the generations may succeed each other and be different in many respects, but the things that really matter, the central mythical plot and its predestined dénouement remain the same.

The narrative continues to relate the adventures of the youngest brother *Nami Pitu Ratu* and his offspring. The meaning of this name is not quite certain. The word *nami* is here evidently used in contradistinction to *ratu* (the eldest brother is named *Ratu Pitu Ratu*) and to all probability the name means: "lord of seven men", in which case the eldest brother's name would be: "lord of seven Marna". In version B we are reminded of these names by the mention of 7 slaves whom the eldest brother takes along with him to Timor. To the number 7, for that matter, is not to be attached any special meaning; it is one of the sacred numbers, and we may expect to meet it every now and then. The assonance of the two brothers' names has a parallel in the names of their wives: *Rawiru* and *Rueru*, who, of course, are sisters. Thus the mythical symmetry is complete.

When *Nami Pitu Ratu* lands on Kisar, he recognizes his elder brother's features in the landscape. This interesting communication explains why Kisar has not been mentioned among the created islands: not one of the demons, but *Tātilu* himself was to become Kisar, not, however, before he should have begotten offspring. When the brothers for the first time approach Kisar, their preordained destination, the Creator does not yet allow them to land. And afterwards, when *Nami Pitu Ratu* and his family are already living on the island, its greater part is still below the surface of the sea. So *Nami Pitu Ratu* sends the youngest of his 7 sons, *Usara Wesara*, to the Creator, in order to complain that their abode is not dry yet. The Creator is willing to comply with their request, but intimates, that they have to leave the island for a while: owing to his directions *Usara Wesara* finds a fully-equipped canoe. The elder brothers take the hint and sail



away, but the parents and *Usara Wesara* refuse to go and are changed into coral-stone. This feature is also clear now: together with the flooded and unshaped land, the human beings on it are hardened and dried up to coral-stone, and their features will henceforward remain stamped into the landscape, just as the first ancestor *Tātilu's* were still discernible in the land in which he had materialized. The same fate had previously befallen *Lerelai*, *Nani Pitu Ratu's* brother, when he dove into the sea to loosen the anchor. The bottom there looked like pure white sand, but the process of hardening and shaping, from bottom upward, being in full swing, *Lerelai* was petrified.

The travellers in the supernatural canoe are said to be 6 brothers and 2 sisters. No mention is made of the remaining 5 sisters; possibly the narrators or the interpreter neglected to relate that these, like their youngest brother, stayed with their parents and likewise became coral-stone. The 2 sisters are met with again later on in the persons of *Masamere* and *Hualaloho*, but the 6 brothers have then become 7 brothers of whom *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* are the eldest and *Kaskoi* is the youngest. When the travellers leave *Kisar*, it is not mentioned whither they are sailing, but it soon becomes clear that they are making for *Timor*. It storms, and they meet with 7 waves, which assert being their brothers as, in fact, they are through their descent from *Wadla'u*, whose children, the demons, produced them out of their "sevenfold soles". They will not hurt their human brothers unless by order of the Creator: thus the previous shipwrecks are shown to be due to divine interference. But the appearing of the 7 waves in this connection has still another meaning: they are lashing the shore of *Kisar* and make it red (i.e. dry), in other words: they are the agents or the coadjutors at least in the shapening- and harding-process. The travellers assume that their island must be quite dry now, but they are mistaken: when, after their visit to *Timor*, they try to sail back home, they are once more thrown back by the waves and taken to *Wertutun Werwain* instead. This, again, is not mere chance; they have to visit the island, nor can it be a matter of doubt, why. The sand of its coast is really gold. Its ruler is the "sky-tree prince", so it is here that the sky-tree is implanted in the earth. The sky-tree, as we have seen, is the primeval waringin, in the branches of which *Tātilu* hid his gold. The real meaning of the forced visit to the island is obvious: the brothers have to fetch the gold that is really theirs, because it is *Tātilu's*. It has come back from the sky in the shape of sand, not to be recognized as gold by anyone but the rightful owners. And the preceding events: their being obliged to use their ballast-stones for fire-stones, and their being forbidden to look for suitable ballast in the village, become perfectly intelligible in this light as the means of forcing them to find the gold.

There is still another costly gift which the brothers are to take home from *Wertutun Werwain* or rather from its ruler, the sky-tree prince *Rupitali Wanoro* (or *Wonara*): their sacred rites. When they have landed



on Leti, in order to have their gold-dust cast and welded, *Rupitali Wanoro* also arrives there and instructs them, their superhuman descent having become manifest through their power to tow in the visitor's boat, as the rulers of Leti had not been able to do. *Rupitali Wanoro*, who is none but the Creator himself, informs them that their island is dry at last, and exhorts them to return thither after teaching them the ritual that they henceforward should perform. The rulers of Leti are permitted, at their request, to adopt the ritual likewise: so from that time it has been performed on Leti as well as on Kisar. This also explains, we may add, why the meeting with *Rupitali Wanoro* had to take place on Leti and not on *Wertutun Werwain*. According to the interpreter, the most important of these rites was the ritual game of rotan-pull (Mal. *hela rotan*), well-known, to this day, all through the eastern part of the archipelago.

The visit to *Wertutun Werwain* is more than an accidental adventure in the brothers' rambling life: it opens a new phase in the predestined course of mythical events. Creation approaches its completion. Many more islands have been created, and wherever the brothers land, they meet with human people. Their own home has been prepared and definitely assigned to them by the Creator himself, who, in the shape of *Rupitali Wanoro*, has also provided them with the supernatural means to assert themselves in the struggle for life: they have to perform these rites "that their abode should be prosperous, that both human beings and animals should thrive and increase". This might be the happy end of the story, if it were a novel and not a myth. But there is more it has to account for. Nature is still incomplete and culture has to be conquered. We are still in the mythical period of transition, the period in which the actors in the drama are not merely human yet and their twofold, ambivalent nature manifests itself in a most striking way. It is a quite common feature in archaic myth, that the still superhuman descendants of the ancestral couple are not sharply distinguishable from the mythical intermediators proper between the two worlds: the culture-heroes or benefactors and the tricksters, who themselves, again, are the personators of the two aspects of divinity, the living and acting symbols, one might say, of cosmological dualism. In our myth the constructive and destructive acts that are typical of these figures are performed by the brothers themselves as well as by other mythical personalities with whom they are brought into contact, through marriage or otherwise.

When they come home, they find that their island has grown hard and dry indeed; their parents and their youngest brother are coral-stone, except their father's face, which is still able to speak and which warns them for eating kerbau-meat. The kerbau is or was one of the chief sacrificial animals wherever it is found. There is also some connection between the kerbau and the game of rotan-pull, but the data available from Oirata do not spread much light on the nature of this connection. At some later date, when dealing with our materials from Moa, we shall have to revert to his

matter. In the situation we are dealing with at present, the interdict on the eating of kerbau-meat (or, more precisely, of kerbau that are white behind), is especially important as leading to the discovery of goats, which are created out of caterpillars (N.B. caterpillar is *ipi* and goat *pipi*). This discovery is, as most mythical events, predestined, and the awareness of the discoverers, who expectantly provoke the supernatural transformation, thereby give proof, once more, of their own superhuman, "culture-heroical" nature. The event itself is but a link in the mythical chain of cause and effect which unrolls like the successive acts of a fixed ritual. The discovery of the goats induces the brothers to visit Lakor, where they are to teach the ruling couple how to beget children. At this point, *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* are all at once presented as a married couple with their child. As we have already pointed out, it is by no means unusual in myth for pairs of brothers or friends and married couples to replace each other, either in response to the requirements of the situation or without any definite reason, for all we know. In the present instance, the sense of the substitution is quite clear: travelling as a married couple with a little child, they are bound to be consulted by the silly or perverted couple that is still ignorant of the sexual act.

Coming back on Kisar, they find the island to be in danger of being flooded because it is hanging over. In other words: the balance has been disturbed and should be redressed. So they have recourse to the game of rotan-pull, as is quite understandable, since this game is surely one of the many forms of ritual contest between the phratries or moieties in a dual organization and, as such, the means of maintaining or redressing any kind of balance in which the whole community is concerned.

The episode that follows then is once more concerned with the relations between sky and earth. The bond between the two worlds is renewed and fortified by each new generation of earth-people intermarrying with inhabitants of the sky-world; and their antagonism, no less than the trials of initiation preceding marriage, find their mythical expression in the contrarieties and adventures without which none of these alliances, wished for and predestined though they are, seems ripe for realization. The attentive reader of our myth will not fail to notice that the dramatic events concerned are narrated with particular gusto and love of detail, whereas in general the narrative style, as has been previously remarked, is rather the reverse of discursive. This preference is not to be set down for the expression of a certain type of literary taste in the modern sense of the word. While this element need not be considered wholly irrelevant, the chief cause undoubtedly is the partly unconscious but none the less real religious interest in precisely such episodes as are strongly suggestive of the essential unity of cosmic and human, especially social, events or relations. In our introductory remarks to this myth we ventured to state that here the trials prior to the marriage of the ancestral couple have been thrown into the background by the vicissitudes of tribal life in exile. We

see, however, that the mythical marriages are still looked upon as events of essential importance, although they are overshadowed by the adventures directly relating to the migrations of the tribe and its settling on Kisar. The successive marriages between sky-people and earth-people in the successive generations are, in fact, mythical repetitions or reproductions of the primeval union of sky and earth. Mythical history continually repeats itself and in doing so it becomes ritual.

All through the narration of the dramatic events connected with the marriages of the two sisters *Masamere* and *Hualaloho* with sky-beings, the names of *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* are not once mentioned. The text makes mention of 7 brothers, of whom *Kaskoi* is the youngest, but in the beginning of the story of *Masamere's* marriage with the rainbow *Mamere* she is referred to as *tuhur ka* (= *modo tutur ka*), which means "eldest daughter", as if *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*, with whom the narrative is concerned all the time, were her parents. Nor is it inconceivable that, here again, the narrators themselves were in doubt, although later on the two personalities are repeatedly referred to as brothers.

A leading figure in this episode is the "old woman of standing" who hears and knows everything and who directs the destined course of events by interfering at the right moment. She betrays *Masamere* and thereby causes her secret lover to pay the marriage-gift in the shape of many swords, and *Masamere* herself to follow her destiny by rising to the sky. In the upperworld she has her counterpart in the old woman who makes the people stop singing, that they may hear the message of the cock that sits crowing on the waringin.

Still more important or rather active, however, is the rôle of the youngest brother *Kaskoi*. In the love-affair of his sister *Masamere* he brings to light the actual facts and he is the immediate cause of the lover's death. When the youngest sister *Hualaloho* is in danger of being killed by the elder brothers on account of her mysterious pregnancy, he saves her by means of his supernatural power and goes on taking care of her and her child until they are taken up to the sky-village. His elder brothers suspect him of incest and treat him badly. He finds the supernatural means of joining his sister in the sky-village and is treated like an honoured guest by her and her husband, whereas the elder brothers are reviled in every possible way. There are still more traits of interest with regard to this mythical figure. While roaming about looking for crickets and grass-hoppers, he discovers the maize-plant, thanks to which the cock is found willing to fly up to the sky with *Hualaloho's* message. His great fondness of his sister and her child appears from his dismay, when he finds they are gone. When he has joined his sister in the upperworld, she is at first afraid to show him to her husband, who, however, upbraids her for this. By taking up the elder brothers for a visit to their sister he is the means for the latter to obtain possession of her share in the gold from *Wertutun Werwain*. When he ultimately goes back to the earth, he is endowed with a sacred sword,

a sacred spear, 1000 jingling-bells, and good cattle. And, finally, he breaks the last direct connection between the two worlds by cutting the rotan-tree by which he has descended with his sacred sword.

In trying to elucidate the mythical personality of the youngest brother, our starting-point should be his relation to his elder brothers and his two sisters. With regard to *Masamere* he sides with his brothers: he spies upon the lovers, he delivers up *Mamere*, and he alone is able to do this. After that he is charged with the task of watching over *Hualaloho*. As he is the youngest, his elder brothers freely order him about, but this does not hinder them from being aware of his superior qualities. After a while *Hualaloho* is found to be pregnant. The brothers suspect *Kaskoi* and henceforward treat him with undisguised contempt, without however accusing him openly. *Kaskoi*, on his part, withdraws the sister from the elder brothers' revenge and brings about her marriage with *Noihidai*. In both episodes the elder brothers are really defenceless overagainst *Kaskoi's* superhuman powers. It would be rather silly, in our opinion, to consider this story as a fortuitous (i.e. senseless) combination of "nature-mythological traits" or of erratic "fairy-tale motives". Nor is its meaning obscure when, bearing in mind that myth is the contents of religious belief, we remember what are the leading ideas that ever and again crop up, albeit in manifold disguise. In the present instance the leading idea obviously is the necessity of contracting a new alliance between the two worlds by means of marriages. *Kaskoi* is one of the chosen bridegrooms, *Mamere* is the other. At decisive moments the Creator himself interferes in the shape of the wise old woman. At first, *Kaskoi* wants to marry his sister *Masamere*. So *Mamere* is his rival, whom he brings to ruin. So he thinks at least; in reality he is nothing but a tool in the hands of destiny, or the Creator, for *Masamere* is to marry *Mamere* and is to become the female rainbow, and so it happens. But his real predestined bride is his sister *Hualaloho*. He marries her in secret and effectually protects her. He really belongs to both worlds, but in the upperworld he is *Noihidai*, who is introduced as a separate personality and as the actual husband in order to free the marriage of its incestuous character. All the details of the story become intelligible when we consider them in this light. The mythical personalities of *Kaskoi* and *Noihidai* replace each other according to the demands of the situation, but as they do so neither completely nor consistently, the true state of affairs is often visible through the transparent disguise. When *Hualaloho* tries to send a message to the upperworld, *Kaskoi* is not present, nor does he know what she is going to do or has done, and when she is taken up by *Noihidai*, he is left out of the affair again, although he has been visiting her every day to bring her food for herself and her child. The explanation is, of course, that the husband she sends the message to, is really *Kaskoi* himself. When *Kaskoi* has rejoined her in the sky-village, she is afraid of her husband. This apparently senseless trait reminds us once more of *Kaskoi* being really her incestuous

lover, whom she therefore wants to hide from her husband. *Hualaloho's* gold from *Wertutun Werwain* is exchanged for the gifts which *Kaskoi* takes back to the earth. Among these gifts are a sacred sword and a sacred spear, objects that in this part of the archipelago are especially important as "pusaka", intimately connected with the male sex and therefore often used as "male" goods in the exchange of marriage-gifts. So the wife's family is classified with the lower world (the earth) and the husband's family with the upper world (the sky). *Kaskoi* should properly pay the gift, or the greater part of it at least, to his elder brothers, but he is expressly forbidden to do so; he must keep everything for himself and is instructed to prevent the elder brothers from returning with him to the earth. This again proves that he is really the husband and not the brother: his keeping the gifts for himself is admittedly irregular, but his supernatural qualities and the bad behaviour of the elder brothers seem to place him so to say above the law. The superhuman power and position of *Kaskoi* in this episode is especially manifest from two acts by which he is characterized as a typical culture-hero figure, namely his endowing humanity with the art of growing maize (for this is of course the meaning of the discovery of the maize-plant) and his bringing about the definite separation of the two worlds. Both of them are constructive, in a way even creative deeds, contrasting strongly with the destructive conduct of the elder brothers. Later on, we shall meet again with *Kaskoi* as the young hero with superhuman powers who, unrecognized and abused in the beginning, irresistibly pursues his course, the end of which is the union with his predestined wife. But this episode is preceded by three narratives, hardly inter-related at all, in which the chief actors partly are new personages, whereas *Kaskoi* himself continuously remains in the background.

The first of these 3 episodes is the story of his 2 sons *Horokoko* and *Laiwahan*, which has, so far as we can see, no traits of specifically mythological interest besides its accounting for the existence of land-crabs. It is a vivid description of a gruesome family drama, which strongly appealed to the narrators' imagination. The very fact that the two victims, *Horokoko's* wife *Romolewen* and her lover and brother-in-law *Laiwahan*, become land-crabs, living in an underground hole, proves that it is a nether-world affair without cosmological significance.

The second story, anticipating the real order of events, describes how *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*, living on *Kisar*, are recognized as the true lords of the land by *Deliaman* and *Pajaman*, immigrant nobles, how the land is divided between the two groups with their residences (*Horna-Werna* and *Jotojaum*), and why they have never intermarried.

The third story relates how *Kisar* got into danger of being flooded, when people from *Kei* attempted to tug it away in revenge of the misbehaviour of 2 nobles of *Jotojaum*, *Nori* and *Hakar*, who had robbed a *Kei* woman of her gold.

Some details of the two latter stories are worth being discussed. As to

the names of the immigrant nobles *Deliaman* and *Pajaman* it should be noted that Riedel<sup>1)</sup> mentions "Delipai" as the mythical ancestor of the population of Kisar. Up to now the Oirata people, in order to make good their title, refer to the fact that the other inhabitants do not know the name of the Oirata ancestor (they mean: *Wadla'u*), whereas the Oirata tribe has been acquainted with the names of the *Jotojaum* ancestors from the day when the latter made their first appearance on the soil of Kisar.

As *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* did not trust the *Jotojaum* people, they did not like their hiding away in the valley, nor could they suffer *Jotojaum* to be situated on a higher level than their own village, for this might be explained as a recognition of the others' superiority. At present Wonreli is situated in a low region, surrounded by hills, but in the immediate neighbourhood and between Wonreli and Oirata are found remains of former settlements on hill-tops.

The episode 98. 34—102. 11 was inserted later in order to account for the fact that the two leading village communities, *Horna-Werna* (= Oirata) and *Jotojaum* (= Wonreli) do not intermarry. The two groups, introduced in this connection as elder and younger brothers, are going to celebrate a ceremonial feast after the building of the village-wall of *Horna-Werna*. This feast was also intended to inaugurate a lasting matrimonial alliance between the two communities. Either party was to furnish one kerbau, but when the feast should begin, the kerbau from *Jotojaum* was found to have changed into stone. This was an unmistakable sign that the ceremony was forbidden, and so intermarriage remained out of the question. One day, however, a *Jotojaum* noble, Big *Taheu*, falls in love with a *Horna-Werna* woman, *Kokopini*. He cannot marry her in the regular way: it would be almost like incest. So he does not pay the marriage-gift either, but he cannot give her up altogether and he keeps visiting her. One night he finds her asleep and discovers that she is hollow inside: now he knows that she is a *suangi* and he wants to break off his connection with her. When *Kokopini* tries to win him back, he refuses her with a taunting allusion to her contemptible nature. Afterwards he repents and resolves to marry her all the same. He requests his younger brother, who is a smith, to forge a sword and a spear for him, that he be able to pay the marriage-gift. But he comes too late: *Kokopini* has married with his younger brother, and he has to see her standing near the bellows, in festive attire, while his brother is at work on the weapons. Now life has become unbearable to him. He withdraws into solitude and uses the weapons meant for his marriage-gift to put an end to his life.

The real reason of Big *Taheu's* suicide is the interdiction of marriage between the two communities, for his discovery of the woman's *suangi*-nature really means that he has an invincible aversion against a lasting connection with an Oirata woman. It is still a common belief in neigh-

<sup>1)</sup> Op. cit. (see Preface), pp. 401, 408.



bouring villages that sexual intercourse with Oirata women is dangerous because they are the carriers of various horrible diseases, because they are *suangi* and so on and so forth. But the interdiction is to be retracted and Big *Taheu's* brother Little *Taheu*, the smith, the maker of the most precious marriage-gifts, whose art is one of the manifestations of his supernatural power, is to abolish the taboo by violating it with impunity. Therefore Big *Taheu's* suicide is not accepted. The Creator brings him back to life and sends him down to the earth with the explicit instruction to inform the people of his (the Creator's) decision. He is let down on one of a pair of scales, the other scale carrying two weighing-stones. On the earth his person is to be replaced by a sacrifice of the same weight and then, at a sign from below, the scales will be drawn up again. After this exchange the two groups will be free to intermarry. This time, however, the *Jotojaum* people themselves are not willing to change the relation, and the Creator gets back his scales with nothing on them but the weighing-stones.

The third of the 3 stories, accounting for the flood which caused the brothers to leave Kisar, does not seem to be in want of elucidation. The decisive event in the story is of course the provocative act of the *Jotojaum* nobles *Nori* (the present-day lineage *Norimarna*, *Normjarna*) and *Hakar* (the present-day lineage *Pakar*, *Pakra*), who, not contented with having robbed the Kei widow of her gold, display the best pieces for the widow's brothers to recognize and be guided by at sea. This deed, apparently senseless or just stupidly wanton, is in fact quite interesting as another illustration of destructive trickster-acts often leading the course of events in the predestined direction. In this instance we might even think of a premediated device on the part of *Jotojaum* to get rid of the *Horna-Werna* tribe, the latter being evidently the first to suffer from the flood. However this may be, the narrative intimates at any rate that more adventures and trials are in store for the brothers, whose definite settling on Kisar is once more delayed.

The Kei people violate the Creator's interdiction to meddle with Kisar and Roma, and come to ruin accordingly. But Kisar is partly flooded and this time *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*, too much panic-stricken to try rotan-pull, take to flight, leaving behind all their belongings. *Kaskoi*, who at the time was herding his cattle from the upperworld in a safe place, resolves to follow them with their joint property when he finds them to be gone. Now he also possesses their joint supernatural power as he has the disposition of the sacred ritual objects. Once more *Kaskoi* becomes the chief character in the drame, and once more his marriage with the right woman is shown to be a matter of paramount importance.

As there are no boats left, he makes a boat out of a female kerbau, and sails off to Timor. He is directed to the place where he is to land — the sound of war-drums and the sight of war-banners preventing him from landing anywhere else — and there, from the very first, he acts as though he were the officiating priest in a cosmic rite. His superhuman origin and



standing appear from his seven-storied house, his unusual appearance, and his provokingly off-hand, unconcerned behaviour. The woman who is to become his wife is distinguished by her generosity towards the unattractive stranger and, afterwards, by her power to fulfill all her lover's wishes, whereas the rival sisters fail in everything. As nobody but the couple itself is able to handle their property: sword and spear, clothes, sirih-bag, there is no exchange of gifts.

*Kaskoi* begets the usual offspring, namely 7 sons and 7 daughters, after which he disappears from the stage and is replaced in the subsequent episodes by his youngest sons *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u*, whereas the eldest lineage is still represented by *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*. But before the two lineages meet again, the members of the younger generation have to go through several adventures in consequence of their irresponsible conduct, which so to say calls for trouble. At first they are obliged to flee from their maternal uncle after cheating him. The passage in question, besides describing a typical trickster-act, is also an allusion to the peculiar, often rather unfriendly relation between two families related by marriage, when the son-in-law has not paid the marriage-gift and is therefore not allowed to take his wife home. In the present instance *Kaskoi* evidently stays of his own free will, his wife's family being fully aware of its being no match for his superhuman powers. But his children, having not yet given proof of possessing similar qualities, and being treated like common human beings who are not above the social rules, dislike the situation heartily. After escaping from their uncle's revenge, the first thing they do is to quarrel among themselves. This passage is not perfectly clear in all its details, but at any rate it comes to this that the two eldest brothers *Lailere* and *Tadlai* come to blows with the two youngest brothers *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u* in consequence of an insult. The former, being smiths, have stronger weapons and chase away the latter. After this they are not mentioned any more. Thus there is once more a separation of elder and younger brothers, of whom, as in previous passages, the former are discarded, whereas the latter become the heroes of a new episode. *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u* are accompanied by their sisters *Lelisulai* and *Watasulai*, as appears later on. They themselves do not marry, nor *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* either. The marriages to come have no cosmological significance: they are social and political events, of some moment inasmuch they are connected with the migrations that ultimately lead to *Kisar*.

That does not mean, of course, that they are wholly devoid of supernatural elements. We are still concerned with the mythical ancestors, that is with personages who are not fully human yet, who still move and act in a sphere above the level of merely human life, characterized by different limitations and different potentialities. But they are not creative in the cosmological sense; they belong entirely to the last phase of the transitional period with its preponderantly human concerns.

After their flight *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u* become the creditors of the

Timorese community in which they are allowed to stay. This is an allusion to their wealth, consisting in gold and other costly things, inherited from their father *Kaskoi*. So it is this wealth which is the indirect cause of their being obliged to flee again, the direct cause being the attempted theft of their debtors' child.

When they are besieged in *Ilmeti Watmeti* they give proof of their cunning and their supernatural power. They are able to use the roots of the sacred waringin as a subterranean road to a safe place, and they are led on into a hole there by a mysterious bird *Eleula Patkula*, presenting itself on purpose. Of course the waringin is the sky-tree and *Eleula Patkula* is the upperworld bird. Thus the brothers' high descent is made manifest again.

After some more wandering they are to join their "elder brothers" *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*. This is indicated by their being fortunate enough to meet people who are able to inform them of the latter's abode. After their happy meeting the 4 brothers marry off their sisters to lords of the land with the evident purpose of settling there. But in doing so they are acting contrary to their destiny, so their design is bound to come to nothing. Nor do new troubles fail to arise. It should be noted that in this instance either party may be held responsible for the quarrel which indirectly causes the 4 brothers to leave for Kisar once more. This may mean that neither of them is aware of being a means for destiny to fulfill itself, a sure sign of their predominatingly human nature.

The 4 brothers are victorious; many enemies are killed and their heads are taken and ritually offered to the superhuman powers, and afterwards packed up and kept as sacred tribal property. Henceforward they will be in continuous danger of being paid back in the same manner by the community of their killed brothers-in-law, which now has a claim not to be abandoned for anything. Their being aware of this makes them the more willing, no doubt, to follow the advice given them by *Reilaumali* and *Wilaumali* to return to Kisar. These two rulers of Leti themselves are looking for their friends and relatives *Harakati* and *Maamau*, whom they had been hoping to find on Kisar. In the text the two friends are called "their younger and elder brother, their rotan-rope". The relation of "rotan-rope", named "pela" in Amb. Malay, means a very close bond of friendship which may but need not be founded in or attended with ties of kinship and which, generally speaking, excludes intermarrying. The fact that *Reilaumali* and *Wilaumali* have been expecting to find their friends on Kisar suggests the possibility of those two personages being mythical substitutes of *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* or their primeval ancestors.

The brothers having now won themselves the reputation of being great headhunters, it is only natural that their aid is implored by the nobles from *Liuleli Dailora* who are badly in want of a head with a view to an important *porka*-celebration in their village. Another reason for not going for the head themselves is of course their being well-known to the

community where they have a claim, whereas *Lewenmali* and *Asamali*, who are strangers, will not rouse suspicion if they behave prudently, and will have free scope, once they are received into the village as guests. And thus, in fact, the deed is done. The description of this headhunting expedition is quite instructive. It is not to be doubted that this is considered the right way to do it, that is to say, without endangering oneself more than may be strictly unavoidable, better still, without committing oneself at all: for in the latter case one is not burdened with, i.e. threatened by, a new claim. The taking of a head is celebrated as a religious act of the greatest moment, and the successful hunter is honoured as a tribal hero or rather as a tribal benefactor. Besides, headhunting is essentially reciprocal: a head is taken because a head has been lost. And this reciprocity is not founded in congenital emotions but in social and religious ideas. The loss of a head means a loss of supernatural power and of prestige, a disturbance of religious and social balance which, consequently, must be redressed. As in so many instances, the religious and the social aspects are not sharply distinguished; they are, on the contrary, one. The intrinsic value of the head itself is not due to its being laden with "soul" or with "power", but to its being the supernatural means of redressing the balance between the groups concerned or even of turning the scales to the advantage of one's own group. In short, headhunting belongs to the socio-religious complex of "potlatch".

On their return to Leti *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* are invited to accompany *Meheloi* and *Lewensimara* to their village. They accept the invitation and arrive there in great state, with the 6 rulers of Leti as an escort of honour. All this is, of course, purely ceremonial. They have to be invited because they have to be repaid, lest they should become dangerous claimants. First they are offered gold, which they refuse because they possess gold in abundance as it is. Then they are offered women, whom they refuse likewise, obviously because they will be able to get women without having to accept them in settlement of their claim. It is the old woman of standing again who wisely intimates that they want land. Of course their wish is wrong, as their destined home is on Kisar, and so the old woman knows, but as she also foreknows the upshot of the transaction, her mind is at ease. The allotted land is situated by the sea, and its natural means of subsistence is fishing. But the fish proves to be of inferior quality and the brothers realize that they have been cheated. *Maanunu* cannot resist the temptation of taking revenge on a native woman of noble birth in an obscenely allusive way, but he is so effectually paid back in the same coin that he feels he has to choose between taking to flight and waging war — which would mean: being killed. He prefers the former alternative and sails off, accompanied by his younger brother *Nunla'u*. The wind takes them to Kisar, which they find to be uninhabited and which they gradually recognize as their own ancestral home-land. The interesting narrative of this rediscovery does not explicitly state whether they themselves remember

the aspect of things or whether they only recognize it through what they know from hearsay. Either conclusion would be warranted by the words of the text. This uncertainty is not due to clumsiness of expression; it is not, in other words, merely apparent, but it is real. The narrators themselves are not sure — and, indeed, it does not matter. Just as *Lewenmali* and *Asamali* are introduced again as the elder brothers in each successive generation, so *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u* are now representing the younger brothers from primeval times onward, indifferent how they are named. Racial memory, inadmissible, to all probability, in culture, is an undisputed fact in myth, where it is founded, however, in a real identity of earlier and later events or personages, disguised though they are by name, outward appearance, and circumstances of time and space.

After their discovery *Maanunu* and *Nunla'u* hasten back to Timor and find their elder brothers quite willing to leave for Kisar. When the 4 brothers are approaching the coast of this island, they separate and, after landing in two different places, begin a series of wanderings in opposite directions until the 2 groups meet again. By that time, however, they have become like strangers to each other and distrust and evade one another. That much is clear from the text, but the sequel is less lucid. The younger brothers come into contact with the people of *Irara Ililese*, who are presented as strangers, as distinct from "the lords of the land", by whom the younger brothers' group is meant. The children of the 2 groups play together and have sham-fights, which in the long run give rise to a serious quarrel between the grown-up people of both sides. There is a fight, in which the *Irara* people gain the victory by cunning. Thus the text has it. It is obvious, however, that this battle is really a sham-fight, in other words: a ceremonial contest. The *Irara* people probably are the elder brothers' group in real or pretended disguise, which resorts to this rather brutal stratagem in order to save their pretended superiority. The arrangement between the two parties to begin with, the very manner of fighting and, last not least, the fact that not a single member of the defenceless group is wounded or killed (no mention is made of the taking of heads), irrefutably prove the whole thing to be a ceremonial affair from beginning to end. Even the cunning device may be a pretended one, the younger brothers thus having consented to yield before the power of superior weapons.

The subsequent account of the younger brothers' settling in *Horna-Werna* after their meeting with the ancestors is not perfectly clear. In the text *Horna-Werna* is mentioned as distinct from the "original village", which is allotted to 4 groups. According to the interpreter the latter were *Atan*. But the translation "original (or ancient) village" given by the interpreter is not above doubt. The *Oirata* term *momor ara le ara* may also mean "below the village" in the sense of "just outside the village on a lower level". Ancient villages, uninhabited at present, are usually denoted as *momor matu*. In most communities they function as sacred places, where

the religious rites are performed. So the interpreter's translation is probably wrong, and the meaning of the statement is, that the nobility of the younger brothers' group settled on the hill *Horna-Werna*, whereas the commoners had to live at the foot of the hill.

Thus the younger brothers' defeat in the contest turns out to be an advantage, for it makes them flee to a place where they meet with the ancestors, their benefactors, who assign them their predestined abode. This assignment also means that the elder brothers have lost their birth-right. That is why afterwards, when the prosperous younger brothers, taking pity on their elder brothers who "have to live in a garden" (that is "who are living in exile"), persuade them to settle likewise in *Horna-Werna*, it is explicitly stated that the younger brothers will henceforward be superior in standing: whenever the religious rites are performed, their place will be nearest to the "parents" (= the Creator), that is, to their representatives, the waringin and the sacred objects. Thus the elder brothers pay with their birth-right and their religious leadership for the cunning trick which was to establish their pretended superiority. Once more destiny interferes, this time in the shape of the ancestors, and the younger brothers triumph in the end.

Now that the two brother-lineages have at last reached their destination and have definitely settled in the home created for them at the beginning of the world, the sacred waringin in their village reveals itself as the sky-tree, exhaling delicious odours, by which people from far and wide, 10 clans in all, are attracted. This is a more circumstantial and slightly different version of the immigration previously ascribed to *Deliaman* and *Pajaman*, and the division of the island into an eastern and a western part.

The origin of the three castes is off-handedly settled in passing; yet this account is not without interest, because it is emphatic as to the rigour of caste-endogamy in former times.

The closing chapter of our story, which deals with the arrival of the Company, the unequal marks of honour awarded to the 2 brothers-in-law *Horsair* and *Mutasair*, and the ensuing division of authority, is quite instructive in connection with the earlier relations between the 2 brother-lineages. We have previously ventured to suggest that the relation between *Horsair* and *Mutasair* is expressive of phratry-rivalry (see above, p. 6). If our suggestion is right, it is hardly to be doubted that the 2 village-halves *Timur* and *Warat* really represent former phratries. Our narrative is a version of the central tribal myth owned by clan *Hanoo* of *Timur*. So we may expect this version to demonstrate the superiority of *Timur*. As we have seen, the narrative accounts for the fact that the younger brothers' lineage is really superior and that the elder brothers' group has even lost its birthright. We may safely conclude that this youngest, but superior, lineage is *Timur*. Now the concluding remarks about the division of authority point out that besides being in the possession of the staff and the flag *Horsair* is already leader of the rites. The latter statement evident-

ly alludes to the passage concerning the elder brothers' losing this leadership. It follows that *Horsair* is the chief of the youngest lineage, in other words of *Timur*. Notwithstanding the admitted superiority of this group, a certain balance of power between the 2 groups — as between real phratries — is not allowed to be disturbed. For that reason a member of the other half, *Horsair's* brother-in-law *Mutasair*, is appointed to rule over *Timur*, a rather unusual proceeding, illustrating the unsettling action of European interference, however well-meant, in native affairs.

In the above analysis of our myth its "nature-mythological" or restrictedly cosmographic aspect has been left out of consideration. This has not been done for want of evidence but on ethnological grounds, which may be briefly explained.

Even if we were deprived of the enormous mass of comparative evidence accumulated by various schools of "nature-mythological" thought during the last half century, it would be difficult not to notice the cosmographic element in a number of events and personages of our narrative. The association between moon and sun and gold, for example, is quite obvious, the connection of most of our heroes with one, or two, or all three of them not less so. *Kaskoi*, first quite black "like a *suangi*" and afterwards "gleaming like the moon, gleaming like the sun", "white like the moon, white like the sun" is strongly suggestive of the contrast of dark and full moon. The 7 wells of his father-in-law, in which he is so much interested, may very well be the Seven Stars. When he is hidden in a pigsty in the upperworld, he is perhaps the sun behind the clouds or darkened by an eclipse. *Wuriesi's* two pieces of gold, which make the eastern and western garret-windows shine like the sun and the moon, are by no means cosmographic riddles. Both a shipwreck and the sudden appearance of a fully-equipped canoe may and undoubtedly do often have relation to the horizontal crescent, sinking away in the ocean or suddenly appearing on the surface from behind a cloud or through the hazy atmosphere, sights often to be observed in tropical seas. The solar or lunar character of our heroes, which is already suggested by their mythical parentage, is in a number of cases quite obvious indeed. And when they fight or love, pursue or escape each other, in short, when they are moving about in relation to one another, no strong imagination is needed to explain these movements in terms of popular cosmography.

But all this does not help us to explain the essential meaning of a mythical narrative, its function in religious and in social life, its cultural value. Archaic cosmology is never in the first place popular cosmography and even, essentially, it is not popular cosmography at all, the latter element being always a by-product, the fairy-tale element in myth. This may seem a gratuitous assertion because since Lévy Bruhl's first publications we are accustomed to take for granted all conceivable — and even unconceivable — identifications in archaic cosmology. We are apt to forget that



mysticism has its limits, even in the most archaic of religions; that there exists, in fact, a "common sense of myth" (Hocart). Ehrenreich was no doubt right, when he insisted upon the importance of the "nature-mythological fairy-tale", but he was on the wrong track altogether when he considered it the origin of myth. In myth, that is in religious thought and sacred tradition, naive cosmography has a place in so far only as it is inseparable from the primary cosmological principles which form the foundation of religious philosophy. The dualistic conception of the universe, for example, implies a dualistic arrangement and classification of all more impressive natural and cultural phenomena and ideas: the one universe with sky and earth, sun and moon, land and water, upperworld and underworld; human society with its two phratries and sexes; strength and weakness, good and bad, contrasts of colour and so on. But it does not by any means entail quite a literature of "love-stories in the sky" and suchlike, which may exist, to be sure, but in another sphere of spiritual life, the fairy-tale sphere, where mythical conceptions are being playfully and endlessly rearranged and recombined to mere popular fiction. Myth is concerned with the things that are of vital interest to a human community — according to its own standards. These vital interests most clearly manifest themselves in the application of religious cosmology to the realities of life, in other words: in the practice of religious ritual. This also explains why myth itself, formulating and accounting for the cosmological conceptions, has all the characteristics of a fixed ritual: not naive cosmography, but ritual is the inseparable and, indeed, indispensable concomitant of myth. These few remarks may for the time being suffice to account for my not having given much attention to the naively cosmographic aspect of Oirata mythology.



## VIII

### PHONETICAL NOTES

#### A. Vowels.

The vowels of the Oirata language will be indicated by means of the characters: *a* (longer: *ā*), *e* (longer: *ē*), *i* (longer: *ī*), *o* (longer: *ō*), *u* (longer: *ū*).

*a* is essentially an open *a*-sound, as in Malay *bagus*, French *Paris*; its colour is naturally influenced by its position in the word and especially by the immediately following sounds. Thus it is less clear, when followed by more than one consonant and in closed end-syllables, but it never becomes the sound of *u* in English *but*, or of *a* in German *ach*. When stretched (*ā*) it is always open. Single and double *a* (*aa*) and *ā* are found in all positions. Examples: *ada*, *daran*, *pata*, *karna*, *rakte*; *aalamana*, *maate*, *maare*, *itaa*, *raa*; *ālu*, *āl(a)*, *dānu*, *jāni*, *māri*, *pāte*.

*e* is approximately the same sound as the vowel in English *pen*; in some positions it is perhaps slightly more open, e.g. before *r*, but it is never like *a* in English *cat*. Occasionally, especially in unaccentuated syllables, the short *e* may be misheard as a short, unaccentuated *i*. When stretched (*ē*), its colour remains the same. Examples: *ede*, *meti*, *sekte*, *welsen*; *een*, *hee*, *ilee*; *ēle*, *hēlu*, *hēte*, *lē*.

*o* is slightly less open than the first element of the English half diphthong *o* in *go*. Sometimes it sounds a little more open, e.g. before *r*, but it is never like *o* in German *noch*. In rapid speech, especially when followed by *n*, it may be misheard as *u*. When stretched (*ō*) its colour does not change. Examples: *odo*, *koto*, *kono*, *horok(e)*, *maro*; *oo*, *loor(o)*, *mool*, *oone*, *noo*; *hōle*, *hōte*, *lōr*, *mōmo*.

*u* is the common *u*-sound as in Malay *bulan*; stretched: *ū*. Examples: *utu*, *uste*, *luku*, *tapu*, *lua*; *duu*, *tuure*; *ūle*, *lūsare*, *dūre*, *mū*.

*i* is about the same sound as in Malay *pipi*, *manis*, English *fish*; *ī* is like the *i* of Malay *siram*, the *ie* of English *believe*. Examples: *ia*, *ika*, *pitu*, *asi*, *mire*; *īire*; *īle*, *kīse*, *mīre*.

#### B. Diphthongs and half diphthongs.

The diphthongs are *ai*, *au*, *eu*, *oi*, *ui*.

*ai* is a diphthong intermediate between *ai* in Malay *tjerai*, *baik* and *i* in English *line*, slightly wider than the former and narrower than the latter. Examples: *ain*, *airete*, *kaite*, *kadai*, *raai*.

*au* is the sound of *au* in Malay *pulau*, *danau*, German *aus*. When

stretched (*āu*), the first element sounds more open. Examples: *aun*, *kaure*, *nautane*, *lause*, *hutrau*, *pau*; *nāure*.

*eu* is the diphthong spelled *eeuw* in Hollandish (*meeuw*, *leeuw*); its first element is narrower than the *e* described above, like *é* in French *été*. Examples: *heura*, *leupa*, *leul(u)*, *aweu*.

*oi*; the first element of this diphthong is *o* as described above; the diphthong sounds much like *ooi* in Hollandish *kooi*, but its *o*-element is much shorter than in the Holl. diphthong. In rapid speech *oi* may easily be misheard as *ui* and vice versa. Examples: *hoin*, *itkoikoite*, *soi*, *toi*.

*ui* sounds like *oei* in Hollandish *boei*, but its first element is a little shorter than in Hollandish. Examples: *kuikui*, *suile*, *kuise*, *luit(e)*, *mamuir*.

### C. Diphthongized vowels or half diphthongs.

These are represented in Oirata by *ei* and *ou*.

*ei* is not very different in colour from the English half diphthong in *late*, *wait*, *say* etc., but its *e*-element is narrower, and its *i*-element is stronger than the corresponding English sounds. Owing to the latter circumstance the Oirata phoneme is longer than the English one. Examples: *ei*, *lei*, *keile*, *nariei*, *tei*; the first element may also be stretched, as in *nawêine*.

*ou* differs in exactly the same way as *ei* from the corresponding English half diphthong (*go*, *post*, *know* etc.), the *o*-element being narrower and the *u*-element being stronger than in English, so that the Oirata phoneme is longer. Examples: *nou*, *noure*, *houe*, *karhou*.

### D. Half vowels or half consonants.

These are *j* and *w*.

As in Malay, these sounds are quite as much vocalic as they are consonantic and not, as e.g. in Hollandish, preponderantly consonantic. In consequence of this they may be misheard easily for *i* and *u*. Examples: *jamo*, *jere*, *jōni*, *aja*, *ejeen(e)*, *poje*; *wadu*, *warat*, *we*, *wohi*, *winu*, *wuhur*, *jawan*, *hewete*. Dubious cases are *ware* (or *uare*), *wale* (or *uale*), *nawa* (or *naua*), *lowai* (or *louai*).

### E. Consonants.

The Oirata consonants may be indicated with the following symbols: *p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *s*, *h*, *'*.

*p* is the common bilabial stop, unvoiced and unaspirated, as e.g. in Malay and in French. It occurs in all positions, but as final consonant in foreign words only. Examples: *pada*, *pee*, *pōte*, *pula*, *lapur*, *kapa*, *opo*, *iskap* (Holl. *schaaf*), *iskrup* (Holl. *schroef*), *sup* (Holl. *soep*). It occurs as initial element in the combinations *pl*, *pn*, *pr*, *pt* and as final element in the combinations *kp*, *lp*, *mp*, *np*, *rp*, *sp*, *tp*. Examples: *reple*, *taple*, *uplaka*, *uplulu*, *oplese* (Holl. *flesch*), *plait* (Holl. *fluit*); *kupnin*, *teptepnana*, *up(u)nate*; *apra*, *kaprepele*; *apte*, *kepte*; *lakpadi*, *ilpua*, *malpe*, *palpalu*.

*pilpili; kambia* (Portug. *cambiar*), *sompajang* (Mal. *sembahjang*); *panpani; sirpana; paspase; putputo, patpatu, ratpain*.

*t* is a soft, though unvoiced, dental stop; in the beginning often misheard as *d*; somewhat softer than *t* in Malay. It occurs in all positions. Examples: *taja, to, tutu, nate, pōte, kamat, seket*. It may be initial element in the combinations *tt, tp, tk, tl, tr, tm, tn, ts, th, tj, tw* and final element in *pt, kt, lt, rt, mt, nt, st*. Examples: *pattu, titti; putputo, ratpain; wetke, mutkal, odotkaure, utkodo, Patkula; hat(a)le, hutluku, petle, potloto* (Holl. *potlood*); *hutrau, itrane, aratrene, odotrapa, potret* (Holl. *portret*); *mederitmu, Watmeti; utne, modatnani, maitna, titnate; odotsuile, utseile, letsoli; ethain, hathati, it'hemara, ut'helere; tjat* (Malay), *utjēte; utwata, wetwetur, rātawai; apte, kepte; nekte, rakte, rukte, sekte; Latilu, nalteri, palte, seltana, ultua, weltaru, wille; wirte, kortel, kartās* (Port. *cartaz*, Mal. *kertas*), *tartara, tartei, Wertutun; lumte, romte; rante, uantapul; uste*.

*k* is a common unvoiced velar stop, the same sound as in Malay *kaju, akan*. It occurs in all positions and in the combinations *kp, kt, kd, kl, kr, km, kn, ks, tk, dk, lk, rk, mk, nk, sk*. Examples: *lakpadi, nekte, rakte; lokde, okdonaman; aaklare, wakle, Lakluan, sok(o)lai; arakrake, ikrei* (Port. *igreja*), *ikris* (Port. Mal. *Inggris*), *kikre, kukruku, rekreku, rikriki; Kikmuni, Pukmoumour; oknopo* (Holl. *knoop*), *nakne; rekse, sekseku; wetke, mutkal, odotkaure, utkodo, Patkula; adkeile, didke, mudkeile; Dalkati, ilkua, Lolkeliau, kalkali, Walkokōro, Welkaulu, dorke, herke, Larkei, serkede, Wurlkeliau; ramke; dindinke, Lewenkoho, menkesre, oronkai, Wunkai; iskap* (Holl. *schaaf*), *iskolo* (Holl. *school*), *itaskamate, Kaskoi, masketen, muske*.

*b* has only been met with as initial consonant in two foreign words, viz. *bolsak* (Holl. *bultzak*) and *boro* (Holl. *boor*).

*d* is a hard, though voiced, lingual stop; it may easily be misheard as *t*. It occurs as initial consonant and in the middle of a word, but never as final consonant. Examples: *dala, dudu, Domo* (the island *Roma*), *dedem, ada, odo, sudi*. It is found in the combinations *dk, dl, dn, dd, dh, kd, ld, rd, nd, sd*. Examples: *adkeile, didke; dudle, sadle, Tadlai, Wadlau, midne, pednika; mudhai, mudhe; lokde, okdonaman; doldoli; atardihale; dindinke, hindau; itasdure, itawāsdida*.

*l* is much like German *l*. The position of the tongue in producing this sound is about the same as in pronouncing the above-mentioned lingual *d*. It occurs in all positions. Examples: *lada, lere, losu, hala, hele, lalu, kolo, ail, mahul, Rahil* (name of a lineage). It is represented in the combinations *lp, lt, lk, ld, ll, lr, lm, ln, ls, lh, lw, pl, tl, kl, dl, rl, nl, sl*. Examples: *ilpua, malpe; Laltilu, palte, seltana, ultua, wille; Dalkati, ilkua, Welkaulu; doldoli; mallakte, mallare; selre, malrane, Jalrasi; Ilmauata, ilmoa, sulmata; alnahai, tulne, salne; halse, katal soli, malseile; Alhana, elhia, malhe, talhai; walwaluru; reple, taple; petle, odotlare; aaklare, wakle; dudle, sadle; atarlere, hirlasar, kaharlain, Sorlewen* (name of a lineage); *oomanlau, oonluku, Nunlau, Wonlewen; slop* (Holl. *slof*), *iaslaike, akesle, Unaslai*.

*r* is a trill, formed with the point of the tongue more to the front than in pronouncing *d* or *l*. It occurs in all positions. Examples: *rain*, *rata*, *ro*, *rua*, *harir*, *here*, *adar*, *konor*, *kuar*. It is represented in the combinations *rp*, *rt*, *rk*, *rd*, *rl*, *rr*, *rm*, *rn*, *rs*, *rh*, *rw*, *pr*, *tr*, *kr*, *lr*, *mr*, *nr*, *sr*, *hr*, *wr*. Examples: *sirpana*; *wirte*; *dorke*; *atardihale*; *atarlere*; *arra*, *urru*, *urra*; *Airmodo*, *sormata*, *larmamata*, *Upormaha*; *Horna-werna*, *kaharne*, *mornala*, *marna*, *palaterne*; *Darsere*, *Horsair*, *irse*, *kurse*, *sorsorun*; *anoorhanawe*, *irhene*, *karhou*, *lörhe*, *warhai*; *adarwale*, *harwaje*, *Ser(e)waru*, *sirwisi*; *apra*; *hutrau*; *kikre*; *selre*; *memraka*, *romromu*, *samre*; *anri*, *isamanre*, *panria*, *ranranu*; *asrana*, *itasrapa*, *losre*, *nesrau*, *sisrue*; *oh(o)ru*; *Sawrana*.

*m* is the common bilabial voiced nasal. It may occur in all positions, but it is seldom final consonant. Examples: *mara*, *mutu*, *mete*, *mire*, *amu*, *sama*, *irim(i)*, *dedem*. We find it in the combinations *mp*, *mt*, *mk*, *mr*, *mm*, *ms*, *mh*, *tm*, *km*, *lm*, *rm*, *nm*, *sm*. Examples: *kampia* (Portug. *cambiar*), *sompajang* (Mal. *sembahjang*); *lumte*; *ramke*; *samre*; *mammaa*; *amseke*, *amsoru*, *mumse*, *numsaure*; *isamhalu*, *Mekemhoru*; *mederitmu*; *Kikmuni*; *sulmata*; *larmamata*; *panmore*, *manmante*, *Lewenmali*; *itasmara*.

*n* is the voiced front nasal, pronounced with the point of the tongue against the upper gums, as in Malay, English, German. It occurs in all positions. Examples: *na*, *no*, *nunu*, *ina*, *hian*, *larin*. It is found in many combinations, viz. *np*, *nt*, *nk*, *nd*, *nl*, *nr*, *nm*, *nn*, *ns*, *nh*, *nw*, *pn*, *tn*, *kn*, *dn*, *ln*, *rn*, *mn*, *sn*, *hn*. Examples: *panpani*; *ante*, *hantuku* (Holl. *handdoek*), *rante*; *dindinke*, *Lewenkoho*; *hindau*; *oomanlau*; *anri*; *panmore*, *Lewenmali*; *pannasi*, *punnate*; *anansuile*, *heensoli*, *Lewensimara*; *panhemara*, *honorhe*, *wunhai*, *onhali*; *honorwale*, *oonwaje*, *Loronwisi*; *kuprin* (Company), *teptepnana*, *up(u)nate*; *utne*; *oknopo* (Holl. *knoop*), *nakne*; *midne*; *alnahai*; *lernasi*; *hauhaurimne*, *wamnaa*, *um(u)noron*; *itasnöre*, *was(u)ne*; *uruhnate*.

*ñ*, the voiced velar nasal (the *ng* of Malay *angin*, English *king*) has only been met with in the place-name *Punañ*, mentioned in the text.

*s* is always unvoiced and sharp. It is found in all positions. Examples: *saka*, *sese*, *so*, *suha*, *sika*, *asa*, *mese*, *losu*, *kās(e)*, *keles(e)*, *rus*, *sas*. It is represented in the combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, *sd*, *sl*, *sr*, *sm*, *sn*, *ss*, *sh*, *sj*, *ts*, *ks*, *ls*, *rs*, *ms*, *ns*. Examples: *paspase*; *uste*; *iskap* (Holl. *schaaf*), *muske*; *itasdure*; *slop* (Holl. *slof*), *akesle*; *asrana*; *itasmara*; *itasnöre*; *sissoli*, *Tessakilirin*; *ashe*; *Resjotowa*; *odotsuile*; *rekse*; *halse*; *herse*; *tamse*; *anansuile*.

' is a weak glottal stop. It occurs between two vowels that neither form a diphthong or half diphthong nor are connected by a transitional half vowel, and often also between two consonants belonging to the same word but pronounced quite independently from one another. The two elements of a double vowel and of a double consonant are likewise separated by the glottal stop, but in this position it has not been written except in the vocabulary. In rapid speech it may easily be overheard as it is weak. Perhaps it is really neglected sometimes in rapid and negligent speech. In all dubious cases the symbol has been omitted. Examples: *ra'i* (cp. *rain*),

*la'ula'u* (cp. *laulau*), *mede'ua'e* (cp. *awen*), *pu'ine* (cp. *ahuite*), *a'ana'e* (cp. *nae*), *me'ana* (cp. *naweana*), *mi'e* (cp. *tiele*), *ho'ana* (cp. *ilmoa*), *mi'ana* (cp. *ahiana*), *an'ka*, *oron'kai* (cp. Malay *orang kaja*), *it'hemara*.

*h* is unvoiced, as in English, but weaker. It occurs in all positions. Examples: *ha*, *hua*, *horok*, *houte*, *he*, *hitin*, *aahe*, *uhe*, *tahule*, *asah*, *itih*, *tutuh*. It is represented in the combinations *hr*, *hn*, *th*, *dh*, *lh*, *rh*, *mh*, *nh*, *sh*. Examples: *oh(o)ru*; *uruhnate*; *ethain*; *mud'hai*; *elhia*; *karhou*; *isamhalu*; *wunhai*; *ashe*.

This survey of the main separate sounds and their most usual combinations is not sufficient by far to characterize the sound-system. It is not possible to describe any sound-system without a rather deep historical insight into the development of the language concerned. For the essentials of a sound-system are far less well revealed by static than by dynamic evidence. Unfortunately our knowledge of Oirata etymology and grammatical history is as yet sadly deficient. It is true that our present material often looks promising enough, and that, in many instances, it positively invites speculations of a historical-comparative nature and adventurous rambles in the domain of etymological reconstruction. We shall be wise, however, to resist these temptations and to confine ourselves to pointing out a few obvious phonological characteristics that throw some light on certain aspects of the sound-system.

#### Vocalic change

1. The colour or timbre of vowels in Oirata, as in closely related neighbouring tongues, is less stable, less fixed than in most Indo-european languages. It has already been mentioned that certain vowels may easily be misheard for one another, as e.g. *o* and *u*, *e* and *i*. It should be added, however, that it is not always a case of mishearing, but that there also exist real vacillations between certain vocalic sounds that cannot be explained away in this manner. In some cases we might think of real vocalic alternation (change, „ablaut”), as in the evidently related words *aran(a)-arina*, and in the ending *ana-ina* (e.g. *lolorana-lolorina*, cp. G.N. I § 5), although vocalic change certainly does not play a grammatical role of any significance. In other cases the change consists in an unaccentuated end-vowel alternating with a vocalic sound that may be characterized as an almost colourless *e*. But these explanations do not account for all vocalic change. *A* as end-vowel often alternates with a clearly-pronounced *e* and according to native informants both pronunciations are equally correct. For example *aata* = *aate*, *inta* = *inte*, *lauara* = *lauare*. This alternation is by no means general. We have never heard *are* instead of *ara*, *wate* instead of *wata* etc.; no more, however, is it rare. A change *a* — *i* is to be noticed in some particles: there is no difference in meaning between *ara'a* and *ara'i*, *ia'a* and *ia'i*, *ura'a* and *ura'i* (see G.N. VIII § 1). Other possible instances of vocalic alternation are mentioned sub 2.

#### Preference for vocalic endings

2. As there is a strong preference for vocalic endings, consonantic final sounds are often made away with by adding a vowel. On the other

hand, there is a tendency, not less strong, to contract (see sub 4.) or shorten words in rapid speech, owing to which final vowels are liable to being dropped. The result is that the consonantic forms have not been superseded altogether, and most of these words may be pronounced with or without end-vowel. As a rule the facultative end-vowel corresponds to the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Examples: *akal(a)*, *āl(a)*, *aran(a)*, *atan(a)*, *inar(a)*, *kawas(a)*, *nakan(a)*, *hēt(e)*, *kēk(e)*, *lēn(e)*, *meden(e)*, *resen(e)*, *teher(e)*, *weret(e)*, *dolon(o)*, *lodon(o)*, *lolon(o)*, *lōn(o)*, *sohon(o)*, *momor(o)*, *solot(o)*, *dain(i)*, *hain(i)*, *il(i)*, *irim(i)*, *losir(i)*, *rain(i)*, *salin(i)*, *sūn(u)*, *arus(u)*, *lehun(u)*, *nupur(u)*, *riun(u)*, *unut(u)*, *tuhur(u)*. Occasionally one may choose between two facultative end-vowels, e.g. *umar(a, e)*, *warat(a, e)*, *hitin(i, e)*, *nakun(u, e)*, *lutur(u, e)*. We are, however, not sure about the quality of the e-sounds in these cases and cannot therefore decide whether they represent a real change-vowel or simply a much weakened form of *a*, *i* and *u*.

Contact of  
vowels

3. Successive vocalic sounds that do not form diphthongs or half diphthongs and are not separated by a glottal stop may be treated in various ways. In some cases they are contracted (see sub 4 a) or one of them is dropped (4 d), but usually they are connected either by the corresponding transitional half vowel or by *n*. Thus *hian* is pronounced *hijan*; *tie*: *tije*; *io'one*: *ijo'one*; *meana*: *mejana*; *lua*: *luwa*; *ue*: *uwe*; *ilmoa*: *ilmowa*. *A'a* + *asi* becomes *a'anasi*; *a'a* + *ahamu*: *a'anahamu*; *a'a* + *uta*: *a'anuta*; *aha* + *epu*: *ahanepu*; *ete* + *asi*: *etenasi*; *nere* + *asi*: *nerenasi*; *ia* + *ihile*: *ianihile*; *ara* + *ihile*: *aranihile*; *a* + *uhule*: *anuhule*; *wisare* + *ie*: *wisarenie*; *unaa* + *āni*: *unaanāni*, *unanāni*, *unnāni*, *unāni*. In some instances one is free to choose between a half vowel and *n* and the half vowel does not always correspond to the preceding vowel. Thus the particle *o* (see G.N. VIII § 2) is connected with a preceding *i* by *j* or by *n*, with a preceding *a'u* by *j* or (probably) by *w*, with a preceding *u* by *w*.

4. In common every-day speech certain sound-groups are shortened or simplified and the number of syllables is reduced by means of various processes of which the following may be mentioned.

Contraction  
of double  
vowels

a. A double vowel is contracted to a single vowel, e.g. *uma ara* becomes *umāra*, *umara*; *una'amire* becomes *unāmire*, *unamire*; *tuure* may be contracted to *tūre* or *ture* etc.

Elimination  
of vowels

b. Vowels of open syllables preceded and followed by consonants are liable to being dropped. Examples: *hat(a)le*, *pan(a)ha*, *mar(a)na*, *wel(e)taru*, *ner(e)nana* (*nere* + *ana*), *sok(o)lai*, *kap(i)repele*, *lok(i)dana*, *t(i)na'a*, *ped(u)nika* (*pedu* + *ika*), *mud(u)keile*, *pun(u)kono*, *ul(u)taru*, *was(u)ne*, *katal soli* (cp. *katalu*). In these instances the full and the reduced form are both in use, but it stands to reason that full forms may easily be superseded altogether when the frequently reduced syllable is not protected from being definitely eliminated by its being a component of



a quite common word or formative element as, e.g., in *mud(u)keile* (cp. *mudu*, *mudua'a* etc.), *pun(u)kono* (cp. *punu*, *punua'a* etc.). No doubt the uncommonly large number of consonantic combinations (see above) together with the relative scarcity of intervocalic consonants, stops especially, is to a large extent owing to this reducing-process. It is probable that in many of the above-cited words with certain combinations of consonants the eliminated vowel may still be heard occasionally, even though we are not able to prove this. There may also be — it is, in fact, hardly to be doubted that there are — many more combinations of consonants than those which have been registered; still even the scanty material at hand shows that certain combinations, quite common in a number of languages, are impossible or phonetically objectionable at least in Oirata. The combinations *pk*, *pp*, *pm*, *ps*, *kk*, for example, seem to be entirely lacking. *Mp* occurs in foreign words only (*kampia*, *sompajang*, *limping*), *km* occurs in 2 names in the text (*Kikmuni*, *Pukmoumour*) but is not met with, so far as we have been able to ascertain, in present-day spoken language. The available data do not, however, suffice for a proper phonological investigation regarding this matter.

The *r* of *iar*

c. The final *r* of the word *iar* (road) may be and usually is dropped before a following consonant. Judging by our evidence the nature of the consonant does not make any difference. The consonants represented in our examples (see Vocabulary s.v. *iar*) are *p*, *t*, *d*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *h*. There is also one instance of this *r* being dropped before a vowel, viz. in *ia(r)etesari*. We do not know of any other instances of consonants being dropped in this indiscriminate way, nor are we able to explain it.

Elimination  
of final  
vowels

d. Final vowels may be dropped, indifferent whether the following word begins with a vowel or with a consonant. For example: *t'aunie* for *ti(e) aun ie*, *wadaun* for *wadu aun*, *kaka t'oo* for *kaka ti(e) oo*. It is not very usual, however.

Consonantic  
change

5. Consonantic change or alternation is a common phenomenon in Indonesian languages; nor is it lacking in Oirata either. Consonantic metathesis, likewise well-known in this linguistic territory and closely related, phonologically, to change, is also represented in Oirata; more frequently so, even, than we are able to demonstrate conclusively. It is interesting to note, that both change and metathesis are particularly active in the formation of proper names. In this domain they impress us as being used rather arbitrarily: a conscious playing with sounds. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive.

*t : r* Alternation *t : r*. Examples: *ta'a: ahara'ahe*; *taja: isaturaja* (from *isa-tu-taja*), *tuturaje* (from *tu-tu-taja*); *tapa: eterapa, itasrapa, odotrapa, utrapa*, but *emtua* (in *emtua emtapa*); *tapale: mud(u)rapale, unarapale, urarapale*, but *itatapale*; *tata: utrata*; *tële: inarële, odotrële; tepele: kaprepele, utrepele; tiale (tiele): inariele, turiele* (from *tu-tiele*), *aharielen*, but *titiele*; *tihale: atarihale* (also: *atartihale*, perhaps by analogy after compounds with *atar-*).



as e.g. *atarjête*, see s.v. *unut*), but *o'otihale*; *titlene*: *dularitlene*, *tawaritlene*; *tipare*: *iaripare*, *menripare*, *panripare*, *urapare*; *toli*: *aroli*; *tutu*: *arutu*, *narutu*. Dubious cases are e.g. *ara* (below, underneath): *atan(a)* (servant, slave); *aru* (vulva): *atu* (intestines, belly etc.). Among proper names the change *t* : *r* may be represented in the final elements *-ata* and *-ara*, as in *Horwata*: *Hor(w)ara*, *Ma'uata*: *Ma'udara* (the latter in the text only), *Wonata*: *Wanoro* (? in the text). This alternation is the more probable because *r* in *-ara* does not alternate with *l* (see below), the element *-ala-* not being in use either as initial or as final element, but it is not by any means sure, all the same.

**p : h** Alternation *p* : *h*. Examples: *pai*: *dulhai*, *inahai*, *ino'ohai*, *liarhai*, *o'onhai* etc. (see G.N. I § 5 c); *pale*: *a'ahale*, *adahale*, *ahale*, *arahale*, *nahale*; *panaha*: *hanaha*; *panawe*: *nahanawe*, *o'orhanawe*; *panak(e)*: *hanak*; *pate*: *panhate*, *urahate*; *po'e*: *ho'e*; *pōte*: *ito'onhōte*. Presumably the same alternation is met with in many proper names. Examples: *Tel(u)pai*: *Hor(u)hai*; *Latupaira*, *Ratupaira*: *Lel(i)haira*, *Lewehaira*, *Resihaira*, *Surihaira*, *Werhair(a)*; *Pajalawan*, *Pajalono*: *Haja'ira*, *Haja'ulu*; *Depunu*: *Lel(i)hunu*, *Lalhunu*, *Raihunu*, *Serehunu*, *Hunlori*; *Lapandai*: *Lahan'kati*, *Lahanma'u*; *Lelma'upali* (in the text): *Lakhali*, *Loihali*, *Lorhali*, *La'uhalin*, *Niwarhalin*, *Ratuhalin*. Occasionally *h-* corresponds to *p-* in related languages, and *p-* in foreign words may become *h-* in Oirata, for instance: Oir. *horok(e)*: *Moa*, *Leti* etc. *porka*; Oir. *hua*: *Moa pua*; Oir. *hihi*: *Moa pipi*; Oir. *hiha* from Portug. *pipa*.

**h : s** Alternation *h* : *s*. This alternation is especially frequent in proper names. Examples: *Hor(u)*: *Sor(u)*, cp. *Hor(u)hai*, *Horlai*, *Horsair*, *Horwata*, *Dohoru*, *Mimihoru*, *Sorkelja'u*, *Sorlewen*, *Sornami*, *Sorwodo*, *Kikisoru*; *Hair(a)*: *Sair(a)*, cp. *Hairma'u*, *Lel(i)haira*, *Lewehaira*, *Resihaira*, *Surihaira*, *Werhair*, *Sairara*, *Sairkou*, *Durumsair*, *Horsair*, *Huasair*, *Ratuwasair*, *Resiwasair*, *Suriwasair*; *Hara*: *Sara*, *Harik*: *Sarik*, cp. *Harakati*, *Har(a)telu*, *Asahara*, *Huihariklai*, *Iklaihara*, *Katihara*, *Kikihara*, *Laihara*, *Lewenhara*, *Ratuhara*, *Sarlor*, *Lewensara*, *Ma'usara*, *Sarik*; *Huihanrasa*: *Huisenrase*; *Jahulai*, *Ratuhurai* (about *l* : *r* see below), *Surai*, *Watasulai*; *Huai*, *Latusuai*, *Ratusuai* etc.; *Maha*: *Masa*, cp. *Daimaha*, *Huseumaha*, *Rikamaha*, *Rukmaha*, *Tepmaha*, *Surim(i)aha*, *Suriwuimaha*, *Dukmasa*, *Huimasa*, *Humasa*, *La'umasa*, *Lewesurimasa*. Initial *h-* of foreign words may become *s-* in Oirata, cp. e.g. *sormata* from Malay *hormat*.

**l : r** Alternation *l* : *r*. This alternation is likewise frequent in proper names. Examples: *Larwilan*, *Lalwilan*, *Rarwilan*; *Latu*: *Ratu*, cp. *Latupaira*, *Latusuai*, *Huilatu*, *Lailatu*, *Lel(i)latu*, *Ratupaira*, *Ratusuai*, *Leweratu*, *Resiratu*, *Sooratu*; *Lai*: *Rai*, cp. *Laihara*, *Lailatu*, *Lailere*, *Lailuka*, *Asalai*, *Horlai*, *Huilai*, *Watasulai* etc., *Raihunu*, *Railawan*, *Kasara*, *Rakurai*, *Sa'urai*, *Surai*; *Malai* (passim, especially as final element): *Daram(a)rai*; *Lesi*, *Ma'ulesi*; *Resi*, *Ma'uresi*. Examples of *l* alternating with *r* outside the domain of proper names are *halu*: *haru*, *luku*: *oonrukte*; *lodon*: *Mal. rotan*; *uru*: *Mal. bulan*.

**d : r** Alternation *d* : *r*. Examples: *Dai: Rai*, cp. *Dailaru, Dailewen, Daimaha* etc., *Alsuadai, La'udai, Lelidai, Maadai, Raihunu* etc. (see above), *Kasarai, Lelirai* etc. (see above); *Duk: Ruk*, cp. *Dukmasa, Lonmaaduka, Rukmaha, Deruk; Du (Do): Ru (Ro)*, cp. *Durumsair, Dohoru, Domalai, Rurumhili, Ruresilai, Rumlasoo (= Ru-malai-soo), Romara* etc. The alternation *d* : *r* is not confined to proper names, cp. *dadān: daran; Domo: Roma* (name of island).

**d : l** Alternation *d* : *l*. Examples: *Dai: Lai*, cp. *Dailaru, Dailewen* etc., *Alsuadai, La'udai, Lelidai, Maadai, Laihara, Lailatu* etc., *Asalai, Horlai, Huilai* etc.; *Kodi: Koli*, cp. *Kodilewen, Kodima'u, Lulkoli; Dara: Lara*, cp. *Darlekrase, Ladara, Saldara, Larla'un, Larma'u* etc.; *Dila: Lila*, cp. *Suridila, Huilila, Silila, Lilarai*. And in other words: *dapur: lapur* (Mal. *dapur*); *leren: Mal. saudara; ler-: Mal. darat*.

**Metathesis of consonants**

A few examples of more or less evident metathesis: *kamat: katamu; nelus: Amb. Mal. lenso; Lesi, Ma'ulesi: Lonseli, Surileseli; Huriara: Ruhiaa; Hulihoko: Lewenkoho, Ma'ukoho*, cp. also *sokolai, saroko, hokolou, koholasa*. Perhaps *Kahil* is the same word as *Sarik, harik* (in *Huihariklai*).

**Consonantic change as a means of name-variation**

There are several more alternations, only the most obvious ones having been mentioned. Our material is not large enough to demonstrate the whole system of consonantic alternation — if we may speak of a "system" in this connection —, but it shows at any rate that consonantic change is used with considerable freedom especially in the forming of proper names. Of course the existence of the alternations *t : r, l : r, d : r*, does not by any means imply the alternations *l : d, l : t*; nor do the alternations *p : h, h : s* imply the alternation *p : s*. When studying our material of proper names, however, we find ourselves forced to conclude that here consonantic change is well on its way to become an arbitrarily handled device of name-variation. This may easily be demonstrated with a number of examples; we shall confine ourselves to one: the well-known element *-ratu-* and its variants. As we have seen, *ratu = latu* (in several Indones. languages also *datu*). The very common alternation *t : r* produced the form *laru*, cp. *Lelilatu: Lelilaru, Lailatu: Dailaru* (here also *l : d*-change), *sooratu: soolaru*. A combination of the alternations *d : l* and *r : l* gives another form, viz. *dalū*, cp. *Leweratu: Lewedalū*.

**Accent**

6. In Oirata as in other Indonesian languages accentuation is weak and to a large extent free, both stress and pitch being chiefly characterized by their elusive and apparently unlimited changeableness. There are, indeed, a few clearly recognizable principles but, setting aside these, a word may be accentuated in different ways according to its position in a group of words or in a sentence and to the requirements of expressiveness and good prosody in general as the speaker may conceive them in any particular case. The tendency, well-known in the Indonesian language area, to lay the main stress on the penultimate syllable is also met with in Oirata. But this tendency is less strong than the dislike to formative elements being

stressed at the cost of stem-syllables. Thus when e.g. a dissyllabic word becomes trisyllabic owing to an added end-vowel, the stress stays on the first syllable: *lodon: lódono; wúhur: wúhuru* etc. The same is true of other trisyllabic words of which the first syllable is the main stem-syllable: *láuse: láusana; túhur: túhurai; nâmi: nâmirai; áhur-: áhure; ási: ásile*. In many cases contraction or elimination of vowels (see above 4 b) are doubtless owing to the tendency to keep the main stress on the chief stem-syllable without taking it away from the penultimate; for example: *márna* is preferred to *márana; hátle* to *hátale; wásne* to *wásune*. But there is also a certain dislike to the presence of more than one fully stressed syllable in one word. This is why compounds consisting of two dissyllabic members are very often reduced to three syllables by means of elimination whereby the stress on the first member is considerably weakened. Thus *púnukóno* usually becomes *pùn'kóno* ('indicating secondary stress); *múdukéile: mùd'kéile; nérenána: nêrnána*. The above-mentioned tendencies are of course rooted in the rhythmical system of the language and, consequently, will manifest themselves not only in the accentuation of the separate word, but also in the distribution of fully stressed, weakly stressed, and unstressed syllables over groups of words and over the sentence. They may come into conflict, however, with other requirements of the rhythmical system, in which case compromises are unavoidable. It is especially these subtle shiftings of accent in semantic groups and sentences which defy description. Still more elusive are the finer shades of pitch, which, no more than stress, can be studied outside their proper domain, the sentence or rather the period. The following short piece of text may give some impression of accentuation in Oirata. The marks ' and ` mean principal and secondary stress respectively. In general syllables bearing the principal stress are higher in pitch than others. With regard to the relation between pitch and secondary stress it would not be safe to make any statement at all.

Piece of text  
with accent-  
marks  
(p. 71—72)

Apná-Aphá ie luku éne to lèn lápai oo ùmajáuele itanámese to ràtu wá'i  
námi nêneje Wádla'u. Jéjeni to màtu seséle to isárun áhamu ràtu túhur  
nàliare. I'na'a ràtê'en apu tíe ita'áhure to Réwai-ráwai ràtu nême nàwá'i  
oo máro lauláusana ràtu ejéene túhur áuni nàmi áunie nênetà le Tàtílu  
Làtílu. Réwai-ráwai nàmi nême apu tíe lèn lápai tína'i me mèderúture,  
ùmajáuele tí me áralàre. lápele tí múda'a kôhil pítu dònlon pítu múda'a  
mállákte to íra lápai tàì lápai tína'iri. I'na'a tono ùma étere ájere: réwai-  
ráwai t'áunie Wertútun Werwáin, únie U'mana Sérna nêneta, réwai-ráwai  
únie E'ter, únie Dómo, nêneta U'pormáha, únie mé dai na'a A'sa tína'iri,  
únie Táwan Wàruána tína'iri.

## IX

### GRAMMATICAL NOTES

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## I WORD-FORMATION

### § 1. *General type of word-stems.*

a. The great majority of word-stems of any kind is dissyllabic. All stems of more than two syllables are presumably compounds or derivatives of dissyllabic ones even though they are not recognizable as such at present. Further there is a distinct preference for vocalic endings. Consonantic endings are frequently made vocalic by means of adding a vowel, whose colour is usually determined by the vowel of the second syllable. As a rule the use of this additional vowel remains facultative, but in some cases, especially in foreign loan-words, the additional vowel is never omitted.

Examples: *atan(a)* — slave; *dain(i)* — last night; *tuhur(u)* — woman; *momor(o)* — village; *teher(e)* — mountain; *kantor(o)* — office (from Hollandish *kantoor*); *kamar(a)* — room, chamber (from Holl. *kamer*); *hantunk(u)* — handkerchief (from Holl. *handdoek*); *pesara* — great, festive (from Malay *besar*); *oplese* — bottle (from Holl. *flesch*); but *sorot(e)* — letter, book, picture (from Mal. *surat*).

b. Any final vowel may be and often is weakened to an almost colourless *-e*.

Most frequent as final consonants are *-n*, *-r* and *-l*, which quite probably originate from former suffixes.

The most usual vocalic ending of verb-stems is *-e*. However, the other vowels, though much less frequently, also occur as end-vowels; and most of those verbs ending in *-a*, *-i*, *-o*, or *-u* are among the commonest everyday words, e.g. *mara* — go; *taja* — sleep; *ina* — give; *ira* — pay the marriage-gift; *sura* — order, invite; *pai* — do, make; *sari* — go, go away; *sesi* — chase away; *asi* — see; *odo* — hit, guess; *soso* — rub; *horo* — wind, encircle; *todo* — tow; *duu* — throw down, miscarry; *ma'u* — come; *punu* — collect; *tutu* — drink; *musu* — lick, suck; *deru* — call.

### § 2. *Nominal compounds.*

a. Possessive compounds consisting of two substantives. The possessor precedes (about an exception to this rule see II § 2, p. 195), e.g. *ara-larin* — tree-root; *hai-kodo* — pigsty; *momor-lutur* — village-wall; *naa-taru* — windpipe; *susu-amu* — milk (breast-contents). The two substantives may be separated by an adjective belonging to the first, e.g. *hai-oto-wari* — wild boar-soil. Evidently the unity is a very weak one indeed.

b. Appositional compounds, consisting of two substantives which are synonyms or which indicate beings or things belonging together in some

way. These compounds may have the same meaning as one of the members or may mean something different from either. For example: *na-leren* — mother-sister, but regularly used with the meaning of sister or sisters; *ha-nami* — father-brother, but regularly meaning brother or brothers; *na-ha* — mother-father, meaning sometimes parents, but often Creator, God (the one who is mother and father). Also in the latter meaning the two words may be separated by a pronominal prefix, e.g. *apna-apha* — our Creator; *uru-wadu* — moon-sun (God, Creator); *modo-wain(i) rāt(a)-wain(i)* — children, creatures, grandchildren.

Sometimes it is doubtful whether a compound belongs to the possessive or to the appositional group, e.g. *ihar-asa* — dog-fowl (war-chief); *ihar-hai* — dog-pig (scoundrel, cp. the German compound *schweinhund*, which is probably to be regarded as appositional).

c. Compounds consisting of an adjective and a preceding substantive or an adverbial prefix as its adjunct, e.g. *urhiti* (*uru-hiti*) — moon-white; *wadu-hiti* — sun-white. *Tawaretlene* — altogether dry (i.e. entirely changed into stone).

d. Compounds formed by means of full or partial reduplication; e.g. *kita-kita* — pennant, small flag (*kita* — a kind of cloth, from Timor-Mal. *tjita*, from Holland. *sits*); *mau-mau* — cat; *tahi-tahi* — quite true, indeed; *taitairi* — weighing-scales; *asasa* — butterfly (*asa* — bird, fowl); *la'u-la'u* — bed (*la'u* — piece of cloth); *mamaro* — statue, image, picture (*maro* — human being); *mamamuka* — unmixed, by itself, merely (*mamuka* — empty); *pēpēle* — toy-bow (*pēl* — bow to shoot with, from Holland. *pijl* — arrow); *ro-ro* — peace, safety, prosperity (*ro* — good, salutary); *sorsorote* — dot, point (*sorot* — book, letter, picture, drawing); *sorsorun* — plane (*sorun* — wiping, planing).

e. About compounds ending in *-taan* see below, II § 2.

### § 3. Nominal derivation by means of suffixes.

a. Participles, adjectives and substantives may be derived from adjective and verbal stems as well as from various kinds of particles by means of the suffixes *-n(-in)* and *-ana*. There is some difference in meaning between the *-n(-in)-* and the *-ana-*derivates, but no hard and fast lines can be drawn between the two categories as they are at present. Generally speaking it may be stated that among the *-n-*derivates participles and nomina agentis preponderate, whereas the *-ana-*derivates are mainly adjectives and substantives. There are represented, however, no shades of meaning which are not to be derived from the functions of present or past participle. Later on, indeed, we shall have to deal again with the *-n-*suffix as a verbal formative element with important syntactical functions.

Examples: *Umu* — die; *umun* — dying, who dies, also: corpse, carrion; *umunana* — dead. *Ihile* — fly; *ihilen* — flying, who flies; *ihihilen* — supernatural power (evidently it is especially the dreaded power of flying witches that is meant here); *ihihilana* — who is always flying about. *Uste*



— ask; *usten* — asking, who asks; *ustana*, *usustana* — what has been asked, request. *Pale* — hold fast, keep hold of; *palen* — holding fast, handling; *palana* — head, chief (e.g. *pada palana* — clan-chief). *Dule* — tie firmly; *dulen* — tying, who ties; *dulana* — knot. *Nere* — follow; *neren* — following, who follows; *nerenana* — following, next, follower. *Ehere* — pour out, cast; *eheren* — pouring out, casting, who casts; *eherana* — what is poured out, cast. *Asi* — acquire; *asin* — acquiring, who acquires; *asinana* — what has been acquired. *Mule* — disappear; *mulen* — who (what) disappears, disappearing; *mulenana* — gone. *Lause* — live, grow, regale; *lausen* — living, who lives etc.; *lausana* — feast, entertainment; *laulusana* — living, living beings, life, soul. *Kikre* — fear; *kikren* — fearing, who fears; *kikrana* — coward. *Hanate* — ill; *hanaten* — being ill, who is ill; *hanatana* — having been ill, ill.

b. Especially with nominal-verbal stems derivation by means of *-n* and *-ana* is prolific. For example: *Naware* — know, understand; understanding, intelligent; *nawaren* — knowing, who knows (e.g. *iar nawaren* — guide, lit. who knows the road); *nawarana* — able, intelligent, cunning.

Secondary *-n*-derivates may be formed from words on *-ana*, e.g. *nawaranan* — ability, wisdom, cunning.

c. By means of *-n* may also be formed compounds of substantive and participle and of substantive and adjective. For example: *Ahi'ududan* — fisherman (from *ahi* — fish and *ududa* — use to kill). *Lēnuraruan* — earth, world of man (from *lēn* — heaven, sky and *urarua* — sit under). *Ālmaramaran* — army (from *āl* — war and *mara mara* — use to go, many people go). *Ooiraketen* — who talks smut (from *oo* — mouth and *irakete* — lecherous).

From particles e.g. *Ianin(i)* — what, who is above, on high (from *iani* — above, on high; and this, again, is derived from *ia(a)* — on top of, down from, up in). *Aranin(i)* — what, who is underneath (from *ara*, *arani* — under, underneath, down, below). *Mal(u)nin(i)* — what, who is outside (from *mal(u)*, *mal(u)ni* — out, outside).

d. There are some suffixes of lesser importance of which may be mentioned *-ai*, a formative element whose function is not easy to determine exactly. E.g. *adar* — witch, sorcerer; *adarai* — sorcery. *Nami* — man, brother; *namirai* — husband, brother. *Tuhur* — woman; *tuhurai* — wife. *Panar* — female (especially of animals); *panarai* — virgin. *Naware* — know, wise etc.; *ahanawarai* — wise old men (*aha* — to be able). *Lukun-hari* — rumour (lit. speechwind); *lukun hariai* — rude language. *Apu* — together; *apuai* — common, joint.

#### § 4. Verbal compounds.

a. Most verbal compounds are formed by means of various types of prefixes. Some of them are verb or noun stems; others function as prepositions and adverbs. Here again, however, it is not always possible to draw sharp lines of demarcation. The verbal prefix *pan(u)-*, for example, occurs

as an independent substantive with the meaning of face, aspect, front; in verbal composition it means in front, to the front, on; *pun(u)-* is a verb meaning gather; as a verbal prefix it means together. But these words look like *-n-*derivates and for all we know *panu* may really mean being in front and *punu* being together. We shall mention the chief prefixes and illustrate their functions by means of a few examples.

**A(a)-, na(a)-.** There is no clear semantic or functional difference between the *a*-prefixes with and those without *n-*, nor is there any indication that the fluctuation between *aa-* and *a-*, *naa-* and *na-* is anything else than a phonetic phenomenon. The range of meaning of the *a*-prefixes is rather large as will be apparent from the examples given below. While the great majority of words with *a*-prefixes are evidently verbs, there are a few which could also be regarded as adjectives. This uncertainty, however, is not a consequence of the peculiar character of these prefixes, but is closely connected with the ambiguous nature of many verb stems. The *a*-compounds may be divided into two groups, viz. 1. those consisting of the *a*-prefix and a verb stem; 2. the much smaller group of more or less ambiguous stems with *a*-prefixes. Not all the variants of the *a*-prefix undoubtedly occur as independent members of a sentence. This can only be said of *naa-*, which is also one of the most common postpositions indicating relations of space. This would not seem to warrant, however, a distinction between *a*-compounds and *a*-derivates, since for all we know the four *a*-prefixes, are four variants of one prefix-postposition.

Examples of group 1. *Ware* — hear, listen; *warware* — hear continually, keep listening; *awarware*, *nawarware* — listen to. *Deru* — call; *aderu*, *naderu* — invite to, call to. *Sura* — invite, order; *asura*, *nasura* — invite to. *Mire* — sit; *amire*, *aamire*, *namire* — sit on, sit there. *Nate* — stand; *anate*, *nanate* — stand on, stand there. *Jête* — lie; *ajête*, *najête* — lie upon, lie there. *Wa'i*, *nawa'i* — beget. *Liare* — change, be transformed, return; *naliare* — transform into; create. *Rau* — sit, sit down; *aarau*, *narau* — sit upon. *Houte* — descend; *nahoute*, *naahoute* — descend on, descend from. *Lêre* — to land; *nalêre* — land at, land there. *Taja* — sleep; *aataja* — sleep upon. *Ho'e* — to be somewhere; *nahoana* — who are there, inhabitants.

Examples of group 2. *Mue* — smell, to smell; *amue* — smell at. *Luku* — word, speech, speak; *aaluku* — to answer. *Isahanate* — merciful, have mercy (lit. heart ill); *anisahanate*, *nanisahanate* — have mercy on. *Waluru* — angry, be angry; *awaluru*, *nawalura* — be angry with.

Possibly there exists another prefix *aa-* by means of which are formed verbs from substantives. This type of compound, which rather should be called derivate, is, however, not often met with. I know two unquestionable cases only, viz. *aanuta* — take care of, protect (from *uta* — shield) and *aalua* — to jest (from *lua* — monkey).

**Ara-** As a verbal prefix this particle means under, underneath, down. As postposition and adverb it also occurs in the form of *araa* and it has likewise the meaning of underneath, down, below. *Hutrau* — throw;

*arahubrau* — throw down. *Kaure* — hold, take hold of; *arakaure* — pick up from the ground (lit. pick up below). *Kono* — take up, take along; *arakono* — pick up and take down; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *arakono* — disembark (trans.). *Lare* — walk, go; *aralare* — walk down; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *aralare* — tread down, push down with one's feet. *Asi* — look; *aranasi* — look down. *Ihile* — fly; *aranihile* — fly low, almost touching the water or the ground; sweep. *Noure* — chase away; *aranoure* — chase down. *Ruale* — set up, found; *araruale* — stand up from below; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *araruale* — set up, set down. *Suhale* — stream, pour; *arasuhale* — pour out, pour down. *Uare* — jump; *ara'uare* — jump down. *Ume* — put, move; *ara'ume* — put down, mention, decide. In all these cases the meaning of this prefix perfectly agrees with its postpositional and adverbial functions. In other cases its exact meaning is not so evident. *Ene* — say, speak; *araene* — refuse. *Najauele* — grumble; *aranajauele* — grumble to, scold. *Nāni* — there is, to be present; *aranāni* — keep watch over. *Pale* — hold, keep hold of; *arapale he* — retract a promise, fulfil not. The word *aralaku* — waterfall, rapid (from *laku* — draw) should probably be read *aralakun* (which is drawn down). Like the *a*-prefixes, *ara-* too has its variant *nara-*, e.g. *nara'ume* beside *ara'ume*.

**Ia(a)-.** *Iaa* is used as a postposition in the meaning of on top of, down from, up in. The meaning of the prefix is in accordance with this.

Examples. *Ho'e* — to be somewhere; *iaho'e*, *iaaho'e* — is, are, on top of (up in). *Kaure* — hold, take hold of; *iakaure* — tuck up (e.g. sleeves). *Kono* — take up, take along; *iakono* — load (in a boat). *Laike* — throw; *ialaike* — throw on, on top of. *Mire* — sit; *iamire* — alight on, sit down on. *Asi* — see, look; *ianasi* — look up. *Ihile* — fly; *ianihile* — fly up. *Noure* — chase; *ianoure* — chase up. *Suile* — go, move; *iasuile* — rise (of sun and moon). *Uare* — jump; *ia'uare* — jump up.

**Ina(a)-.** As a demonstrative pronoun this stem means this, this here (see below, IV § 1). As an adverb it means here. This is also the meaning of the verbal prefix.

Examples. *Ma'u* — come; *inama'u* — come here. *Mara* — go; *inamara* — go here. *Mire* — sit; *inamire* — sit here. This *ina* is not to be confused with *ina* — what, where, which is also used as a prefix; so *inama'u* and *inamara* are also used to express: where (whither, whence) come and where (whither, whence) go.

**Ita(a)-** (not to be confused with the pronominal prefix *ita-*: mutually). The meaning of the postposition *ita(a)* is near, towards, from.

Examples. *Korore* — fart; *itaasukorore* — all of them fart together (*asu* — all of them). *Mire* — sit; *itamire* — sit near. *Nere* — follow, accompany; *itanere* — follow or stay near; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *itanere* — pack up. *Tāle* — twine; *itatāle* — twist together. *Lete* — differ, different; *italete* — differ from. *Lutur* — village-wall; *itaalut(u)re* — stack, pile up.

**Mal(u)-.** The postposition *maluaa* means outside, e.g. *momor maluaa* —

outside the village. Likewise, the meaning of the prefix is always out, outside.

Examples. *Lakte* — spout, squirt; *mallakte* — spout, squirt out. *Lare* — go; *mallare* — go out. *More* — put; *malmore* — put outside. *Rane* — go; *malrane* — go out, outside. *Seile* — draw; *malseile* — draw out. *Suhale* — stream, pour; *malsuhale* — pour out. With the verbs *ma'u* (to come) and *mara* (to go) the prefix is always *mal(u)he* instead of *mal(u)*: *malhema'u* — come out, outside; *malhemara* — go out, outside (about the stem *he* see below, c). *Ara* — daylight; *malnara* — it is daylight.

**Mede-**. This prefix is always used with the meaning of up.

Examples. *Kaure* — hold, take hold of; *medekaure* — lift up, gather up. *Name* — take; *medename* — lift up, raise. *Uate* — take up, remove; *medenuate* — take up with force. *Ruture* — support; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *mederuture* — push up. *Uare* — jump; *mede'uare* — jump up.

**Men(i)-**. This word also occurs as adjective with the meaning of near, close by, e.g. *wasmeni* — dense (of a forest, lit. very close by, very close together). The prefix has the same meaning.

Examples. *Hakane* — float; *menhakane* — float near by. *Halse* — float, anchor; *menhalse* — float, anchor near by. *Tipare* — move quickly; *men-ripare* — pass by quickly (about the change *t*→*r* see Phonetics, p. 175). *Uale* — go, travel; *menuale* — go near, pass closely in order to look at, investigate.

**Mud(u)-**. This prefix, as well as the postposition *mud(u)aa*, means in, into, inside. In its adverbial function *muduaa* also means in the meantime.

Examples. *Hakane halse* — to anchor; *muduhakane muduhalse* — enter a harbour to anchor. *Ho'e* — to be somewhere; *muduho'e* — be inside. *Hutrau* — throw; *muduhutrau* — throw in. *Kono* — take up, take along; *mudukono* — take in, take up and carry in. *Ume* — put, move; *mud(u)ume* — put in, put into. *Name* — take; *mudunama* — take in. *Mire* — sit; *mudumire* — sit down in or under. *Nate* — stand; *mudunate* — stand in. *Rake* — look; *mudurake* — look inside, look into. *Suile* — go, move; *mudusuile* — enter. Instead of *muduma'u* and *mudumara* are always used *muduhema'u* and *muduhemara* (come in and go in; see above under **Malu** and about *he* see below, c).

**Odot-**. This prefix is undoubtedly related to the verb stem *odo* — hit, struck, guess. The postposition and adverb *odotaa* means straight above, overhead, straight underneath, just opposite. The prefix likewise expresses the idea of hitting, getting hold of in the metaphorical as well as in the literal sense. Occasionally *odo-* instead of *odot-*.

Examples. *Hutrau* — throw; *odohutrau* — throw to. *Kaure* — hold, take hold of; *odotkaure* — grope and take hold of, take hold of gropingly. *Lare* — go; *odotlare* — meet with, acquire, catch, grasp. *Nalteri* — explain; *odotnalteri* — be able to explain, succeed in explaining. *Tapa* — touch with force (strike, stab etc.); *odotrapa* — hit (when shooting; about the change *t*→*r* see Phonetics, p. 175). *Tële* — be conscious of, mindful of; *odotrële*

— suddenly become aware of, discover at the moment of waking up. *Suile* — go, move; *odotsuile* — discover while travelling.

**Pan(u)-.** The substantive *panu* means face, outward appearance, front. As a prefix it has the meaning of in front, to the front, on (e.g. go on); *panni* (*panuni*) — in front.

Examples. *Āni* — be present; *panunāni* — be in the prow. *Lare* — go; *panlare* — go on. *Lause* — live; *panlause* — live on (in the expression *panlaulusana* — from generation to generation). *Mesi* — plant; *panmesi* — transplant, plant out. *More* — put; *eme* (see below, VI § 3 d) *panmore* — delay, put off. *Asi* — look; *pannasi* (from *panuasi*, *panwasi*) — look in front. *Tipare* — move quickly; *panripare* — travel on, hasten on. *Suile* — go; *pansuile* — go on.

**Pun(u)-.** There is a verb stem *punu*, meaning gather, collect and an adverb *punuaa* — together, together there. The prefix is used in the sense of together.

Examples. *Kono* — take up, take along; *pun(u)kono* — collect. *Mire* — sit; *pun(u)mire* — sit together. *More* — put; *pun(u)more* — lay together. *Nate* — stand; *pun(u)nate* — stand together. *Ramasu* — knead; *pun(u)ramasu* — crumple up. *Rane* — go; *punrane* — assemble, meet together. *Terne* — incite, compel; *pun(u)terne* — assemble.

**Ua(a)-.** *Uaa* functions as a postposition with the meaning of beneath, under, and probably also as an adverb with the meaning of below. The prefix expresses the idea of under, from under, also in a metaphorical sense.

Examples. *Lare* — go; *ualare* — come not at the arranged time, take by surprise. *More* — put; *uamore* — put under, hide under. *Rane* — go; *uarane* — protect oneself, entrust oneself to. *Suile* — go; *uasuile* — walk stooping, shrunk up.

**Tawa-.** This seems to be used as a prefix only. It means together, with, in addition. In nominal compounds it means altogether, entirely, see above I § 2.

Examples. *Pale* — keep; *tawapale* — keep together, govern together or in addition to. *Ile* — tie; *tawa'ile* — tie together, bind fast. *Huje* — cook; *tawahuje* — cook together, cook with. *Serkede* — shove; *tawaserkede* — shove to, remove shoving and add to. *Suhale* — pour; *tawasuhale* — pour to, add pouring. *Ahure* — marry, join; *tawanahure* — marry together, rush at together. *Eme* — take, cause to; *tawaeme* — marry together.

**Una(a)-.** As a demonstrative pronoun this means that, that there (see below IV § 1). As an adverb it means there. The verbal prefix likewise means there.

Examples. *Here* — lie; *unahere* — lie there. *Hutrau* — throw; *unahutrau* — throw away there. *Jête* — lie; *unajête* — lie there. *Lumte* — stay; *unalumte* — stay there. *Mire* — sit; *unamire* — sit there. *Nate* — stand; *unanate* — stand there, grow there. *Rau* — sit; *unarau* — sit there.

**Ura(a)-.** The adverb *uraa* means afterwards. As a prefix the word has the meaning of back, backward, from behind.

Examples. *Hutrau* — throw; *urahutrau* — throw back. *Kasaru* — order, send; *urakasaru* — send back. *Nere* — follow; *uranere* — follow from behind. *Nate* — stand; *uranate* — free, discharged, rest (lit. stand back). *Rane* — go; *urarane* — go back, decrease. *Suile* — go; *urasuile* — move back, crawl back, yield. *Ume* — put; *ura'ume* — discharge, suspend.

**Ut(u)-** (1). This prefix means in front, before. The postposition *utaa*, *utuaa* is used with the meaning of in front of, before.

Examples. *Nate* — stand; *utnate* — stand in front, govern. *Mire* — sit; *utumire* — sit in front of.

**Ut(u)-** (2). The verb stem *utu* means cover, shut up. Further this stem is used as a prefix with the same meaning.

Examples. *Serkede* — shove; *utserkede* — cover by shoving something over it. *Uthelere* — to cover; *helere* does not seem to be used alone; the same thing may be said of *uthalamai*, which likewise means to cover.

**Ut(u)-** (3). The verb stem *utu* means cut, cut off and the prefix often expresses the notion of finished, completeness.

Examples. *Line* — calm down (of the wind); *utline* — having calmed down entirely, quite calm. *Tapa* — touch with force; *utrapa* — break (about the change *t*→*r* see Phonetics, p.175). *Tepele* — cut; *utrepele* — cut through, cut off (especially: somebody's head). *Tata* be dry (?); *utrata* — quite dry.

In some cases it is rather difficult to decide whether we are dealing with *utu* (1) or with *utu* (2), e.g. when the prefix expresses the idea of check, hindrance, obstruction, as is the case with *utjete* — hinder, obstruct; *utlare* — restrain, check; *utne* — check, forbid (*ne* — speak).

b. There are a number of prefixes which are used less frequently. Their meaning is not always quite clear. From *lare* (go) e.g. *uma aaklare* — walk on tiptoe; *adalare* — meet with, go to meet; *iare* — walk upon; *etelare* — go astray (*ete* means wrong); *nerenlare* — follow, accompany (*nere* — follow); *ahurlare* — go with (*ahure* — with); *oonlare* — go in the direction of.

c. There are a few old verb stems whose meaning is somewhat dubious and which at present occur as second members of verbal compounds and perhaps also as suffixes in other compounds. The most important are *-hai*, *-he*, and *-ee*.

*Dula* — complete, ready, finished; *dulahai* — to complete, to finish. *Nere* — follow; *nerenhai* — imitate, copy. *Itashai* — noise, rumour (the meaning of the prefix *itas-* itself is not sufficiently clear; it seems to express confusion, spreading about). *Patun* — tendon, sinew, vein; *patunhai* — thrash, flog. *Urahai* — to open (about *ura-* see above). *Liare* — change; *liarhai* — change, be changed (70.23). *Inoohai* — how to act, what to do; also; *eme inoohai* (73. 15; 99. 4—5; 108. 38—39; about *eme* see VI § 3d). *Ioochai* — act thus, do this; occasionally it means: thus, in this way, the idea of action being especially expressed by using *eme* (e.g. 119. 14). *Oonhai* — act like, make like, transform, arrange (*oone* means like etc., see Vocabulary). *Inahai*



— why, what is the cause that. *Eme mudhai* — incalculable (about *mudu* see above, p. 186). *Jejehaini, jejehaine, jehainene* — different, act differently. *Lolo* — good; *lolonhaini* — being good, in good shape. *Jāni* — good; *eme jajānihai* — be fond of, love, e.g. *anhele aun ta ante eme jajaninhai* — a friend of mine whom I love (Cp. II § 2, IV, VI § 3, VII). It seems quite probable that this *-hai* is originally identical with the verb stem *pai* (do, make). As to the change *h : p* may e.g. be compared *pale* — hold, take hold of, keep hold of: *naahale* — take from, *ahale* — touch; *panawe* — instruct, teach: *nahanawe* — learn, teach; *po'e* — contents: *nahoana* (from *ho'e*) — who are there, being there (see further Phonetics). The data which we have at our disposal at present are not sufficient to decide whether any trace of the original meaning of *-hai* is also left in the words *siahai* — abundant, abundance (*sia* — more), *warhai* — continually (*wari* — constant, lasting) and *talhai* — much, many.

*Aahe* — move over, moving over. *Ashe* — round about. *Horonhe* — escort ceremonially (*horo* — entwine, encircle). *la'uahe* — humiliate oneself (move under foot). *Lerhe* — sail towards land, land (*lère* — come to anchor, land). *Lörhe* — travel at sea, travel in a boat, embark (*lör* — sea). *Malhe* (in *malhema'u, malhemara*) — move out, move outside (about *malu-* see above, p. 185). *Mud(u)he* (in *mudhema'u, mudhemara*) — move in (about *mudu-* see above, p. 186). *Odothe* — move overhead, overhead (about *odot-* see above, p. 186). *Oonhe* — move in a certain direction, in the same direction as (about *oone-* see Vocabulary). *Uphe* — round about, altogether, quite (cp. *upur* — complete, fully? or *uplaka* — ball?). It is hardly to be doubted that *-he* is an old verb stem meaning move, moving, though at present it has in some cases become a suffix without any verbal meaning.

*Anaaje* — swim; *anaajee* — swim with, take along swimming. *Ilee* — transfer, turn round (there must exist or have existed a word *ile* — transversal, cp. *ilehen* — transversal, transversally, lit. which moves transversally).

*Mani* — neck; *maniee* — cut somebody's throat, behead. *Moruee* — grunt (of pigs; cp. *moru* — cause to laugh?). *Sai* — rust; *sajee, sajee* — to rust. *Tau* — smoke; *tautauuee* — smoke continually. *Wali* — ear; *waliee* — butt with horns. The available data do not enable us to determine the exact meaning and function of this suffix with some certainty.

#### § 5. Verbal derivation and composition by means of suffixes.

a. There are several very common verbal endings which are doubtless old suffixes, like *-e(-i)*, *-re*, *-le*, *-ne*, *-te*. Some of these occasionally still function as such. This is especially the case with *-e*. For example: *sohon(o)* — language, speech; *asohone* — speak rudely to, snub at. *Rus* — nail; *ruse, utruse* — to nail. *Wo* — song; *woje* — to sing. *Harhara* — fan; *harhare* — to fan. *Aat(a)* — sharp point; *aate* — pointed, sharp. *Ememen* — favour; *ememeni* — to favour. *Ain* — matter, pus; *aini* — suppurate. *Sorot* —



letter; *sorote* — write. An example of *-te*: *aaruka* — join, unite; *rukate* — join, unite.

b. As a suffix is also used the verb stem *āni* — to be present, to be there, to exist. The compounds thus formed, whose first member is always a substantive, may be regarded (and translated) as verbs and as adjectives. Whether the one or the other is correct depends upon the context. *Ahat(a)* — stool (of a plant); *ahatāni* — to stool, having a stool. *Elewe* — cold; *eleweāni* — have a cold, having a cold. *lin* — scale of a fish; *iināni* — have scales, scaled. *Lehen* — sail; *lehenāni* — carry sail, provided with a sail. *Mana* — fruit; *manaāni* — bear fruit, having or bearing fruit. *Modo* — child; *modatnāni* (*modo atu nāni* — child is in the womb) — be pregnant, pregnant. *Sai* — rust; *saiāni* — to rust, rusting, rusted. *Sala* — guilt, fault; *salanāni* — be guilty, guilty. *Tari* — fence; *tariāni* — be fenced in, fenced in. *Uku* — thorn; *ukuāni* — have thorns, thorny. *Urru* — horn; *urruāni* — have horns, horned.

#### § 6. Foreign words.

a. Our knowledge of the languages of Kisar and the neighbouring islands is as yet so deficient that it would be mere waste of time and energy to try one's strength on Oirata etymology. At present I only wish to point out a number of words which have been evidently adopted from other languages. Even at the beginning of our study of these languages they are worth mentioning, if only because they yield important evidence concerning the phonetic system. It will be hardly necessary to state that, setting aside the interaction between Oirata and neighbouring native languages, the chief languages from which words have been adopted are Hollandish, Malay, and Portuguese. In many cases it is impossible to decide with certainty whether a certain word has been borrowed directly from Hollandish or Portuguese, or indirectly via Malay. Here as in other parts of the archipelago Malay has always been the chief medium of intercourse between foreigners and natives and up to this very day European influence and European interference of any kind announces and explains itself in Malay. The local medium of the Southwestern Islands is Timor-Malay. Ambonnesse influence too, however, makes itself strongly felt on all these islands and moreover Timor- and Ambon-Malay are closely related local Malay dialects. Consequently it is often impossible to determine with which of the two vehicular dialects we are dealing. In a number of cases this is quite irrelevant from a linguistic point of view; it is never irrelevant, however, to know whether a certain cultural influence has spread from Ambon all over the eastern archipelago — as has often happened and is still happening — or may be ascribed to contact with European civilization through local traders, native mission teachers and suchlike. We shall not go into these problems at present; for our present purpose it suffices to give some examples of word-borrowing from the three above-mentioned languages.

b. Hollandish words are for example: *bolsak* (mattress: Holl. *bultzak*); *boro* (drilling-implement: H. *boor*); *doit* (cent: H. *duit*); *domin* (protestant missionary: H. *dominee*, which means parson); *emer* (pail, bucket: H. *emmer*); *hāk pai* (do crotchets-work, embroider: H. *haken*); *hantuku* (towel: H. *handdoek*); *iskap* (plane: H. *schaaf*); *iskolo* (school: H. *school*); *iskrup* (screw: H. *schroef*); *iskui* (small boat: H. *schuit*, *schuitje*); *iskuniar* (schooner: H. *schoener*, borrowed either directly or via Malay *sekunar*); *kupnin* (company: H. *kompenie*, used for the Hollandish government, Holland, Hollander); *kupan* (money, see *kupnin*); *mesel* (wall, masonry: H. *metzel*, verbal stem meaning mason); *mesele* (besmear: H. *metsele*?); *meser* (teacher, physician, midwife: H. *meester*, meaning master, teacher); *oknopo* (button of clothing: H. *knoop*); *opasa* (spy: H. *oppasser*, attendant, perhaps via Mal. *oppas*, *oppas polis*, policeman); *oplese* (bottle: H. *flesch*); *pēl* (bow: H. *pijl*, arrow); *peleke* (tin of preserved food: H. *blik*, *blikje*); *pen*, *pēne* (pen: Holl. *pen*); *pōt* (boat: H. *boot*); *potloto* (pencil: H. *potlood*); *potret* (portrait: H. *portret*); *ploit* (flute: H. *fluit*), *sal* (saddle: H. *zadel*, *zaal*); *sarapete* (towel, napkin: H. *servet*); *sewai* (winnow: H. *zeef* and the verb *zeven*); *slop* (slipper: H. *slof*); *solrata* (soldier: H. *soldaat*); *sup* (soup: H. *soep*); *tekene* (portrait: H. *teekening*, drawing); *danas* (European dancing: H. *dansen*); *kantoro*, *kantor* (office: H. *kantoor*); *kokis* (bread: Amb. Mal. *kukis*, H. *koekjes*, small cakes).

c. Portuguese words: *almari* (cupboard: P. *almaris*, Mal. *almari*, *lemari*); *hiha* (cask, barrel: P. *pipa*; about the change *p*—*h* see above, p. 176); *ikrei* (church: P. *igreja*); *Ikris* (English: P. *Inggris*, Mal. *Inggris*); *hewete* (dress: P. *habito*?); *kadere* (chair: P. *cadeira*, Amb. and Timor-Mal. *kadera*); *kartās*, *tarkāsa* (paper: P. *cartaz*, placard, Mal. *kertas*); *karete* (vehicle on wheels: P. *carreta*, Mal. *kereta*); *kampia* (goods from a shop, goods which are not home-made: P. *cambiar*, exchange); *nelus* (pocket-handkerchief, handkerchief: P. *lenço*, Amb. Tim. Mal. *lenso*, *leso*).

d. Malay words: *aruma* (needle: Mal. *djarum*); *dapuru* (cooking-place: Mal. *dapur*; N.B. Oir. *lapuru* is used for fire-stones, the stones between which the fire is made); *kasin* (top to play with: Mal. *gasing*); *kuda* (horse: Mal. *kuda*); *oron'kai* (village-chief: Mal. *orangkaja*); *papede* (sago-meal porridge: Amb. Mal. *papeda*); *potol* (bottle: Mal. *botol* from Engl. *bottle*); *pēneti* (pin: Mal. *peniti*); *pēre* (silver: Mal. *perak*); *pesara* (great, festive: Mal. *besar*); *pudi akal* (cunning, deceit: Mal. *akal budi* — judgment, good sense); *toku* (shop: Mal. *toko*); *tanis* (shelter for soldiers, barracks: Mal. *tangsi*); *tjat* (paint: Mal. *tjat* or directly from Chinese?); *sarani* (Christian: Mal. *serani*); *sapun* (soap: Mal. *sabun*); *sompajang* (religious act, rite: Mal. *sembahjang*); *suseke* (pen, pin: Mal. *susuk*).

## II. FLEXION OF NOUNS

### § 1. *Plurality.*

The plural of substantives may be expressed in three ways: a. by reduplication; b. by an adjective expressing plurality; c. by the plural

suffix *-ra*. Any substantive may be reduplicated in the plural, but this method of expressing plurality is not popular. In many cases number is not expressed at all, especially when it is obvious from the context. The plural suffix *-ra* is only used with terms of relationship and a few other words, like *hele* (friend). With these terms the plural suffix is seldom omitted, even when they are reduplicated.

Examples: house — *le*; houses — *le le*, *le lapan* (lit. many houses). *Lapan* is the general adjective of plurality, but also any other word which indicates that there is more than one, makes reduplication superfluous, e.g. all houses — *le upupur*; three houses — *le utu*.

Child — *modo*; children *modora* or *modomodora*. Younger brother — *noo*; younger brothers — *noora* or *noonoora*. Sister — *leren*; sisters — *leren(a)ra*. Elder brother — *kaka*; elder brothers — *kakara*, *karara* (by assimilation). The words *leren* and *kaka* are never reduplicated.

A large house — *le lapai*; large houses — *le le lapai* or *le lapai lapan*. A naughty child — *modo ranranu*; naughty children — *modora ranranu*, *modomodora ranranu*.

The words *nami* (man) and *tuhur* (woman) also get *-ra* in the plural when they are used like adjectives to express male and female: son — *modo nami*; sons — *modora namira*; daughter — *modo tuhur*; daughters — *modora tuhura*.

A few more particulars concerning the expression of plurality will be mentioned in connection with the possessive flexion and the numerals.

## § 2. Possession.

a. Much more important than the expression of plurality — in this as in many other languages — is the indication of the person of the possessor by means of pronominal affixes. The usual possessive affixes in Oirata are as follows: *an-* (my), *ē-* (your, sing.), *-i* (his), *in-* (our, exclusive of the person spoken to), *ap-* (our, inclusive of the person spoken to), *i-* (your, plur.), *waje-* (their). In the following examples the persons are always mentioned in the above order.

*Le* (house): *anle*, *ēle*, *lei*, *inle*, *aple*, *ile*, *wajele*. Besides the methods of expressing plurality which have been mentioned, one more is in use with the possessive flexion: in some cases total reduplication is replaced by mentioning two similar objects which in a certain sense belong together. Thus "houses" may e.g. also be rendered by *le natara* (*le* means house in the village, *natara* house in the field). So the possessive flexion of "houses" is as follows: *anlele*, *anlenatara*, *anle annatara*; *ēlele*, *ēlenatara*; *ēle ēnatara*; *lelei*, *lenatarai*, *lei natarai*; *inlele*, *inlenatara*, *inle innatara*; *aplele*, *aplenatara*, *aple apnatara*; *ilele*, *ilenatara*, *ile inatara*; *wajelele*, *wajelenatara*, *wajele wajenatara*. When *lapan* is used as indicator of plurality the flexion becomes: *anlelapan*, *ēlelapan*, *lelapani*, *inlelapan*, *aplelapan*, *ilelapan*, *wajelelapan(i)*.

*Asa* (fowl): *an(i)asa*, *ēasa*, *asai*, *inasa*, *apasa*, *iasa*, *wajeasa*. Plural:

*an(i)asalapan, ēasalapan, asalapani, inasalapan, apasalapan, iasalapan, wajeasalapan(i).*

*Wataara* (cocopalm): *anwataara, ēwataara, wataarai, inwataara, apwataara, iwataara, wajewataara*. Plural: *anwataaralapan, ēwataaralapan, wataaralapani, inwataaralapan, apwataaralapan, iwataaralapan wajewataaralapan(i).*

*Le lapai* (large house): *anlelapai, ēlelapai, lelapai (-i from -ii), inlelapai, aplelapai, ilelapai, wajelelapai (or wajelelapai).* Plural: *anlelelapai, anlenataralapai, anlelapailapan, anlelapanlapai* etc. Third pers. sing. *lelelapai, lenataralapai, lelapailapani, lelapanlapai.*

*Modo* (child), *modora* (children): *an(modo)modora, ē(modo)modora, (modo)modorai, in(modo)modora, ap(modo)(modora), i(modo)modora, waje(modo)modora.*

When the substantive is accompanied by an adjective, the latter may also take the plural ending *-ra*, besides being reduplicated, and the third person has *ue-* as possessive prefix instead of the suffix *-i*, e.g. my big children — *anmodora lalapidara* (from *lapai* — big); his big children — *uemodora lalapidara* etc.

*Modonami* (son): *anmodonami, ēmodonami, modonami (-i from -ii), inmodonami, apmodonami, imodonami, wajemodonami.*

*Modotuhur* (daughter): *anmodotuhur, ēmodotuhur, modotuhuri, inmodotuhur, apmodotuhur, imodotuhur, wajemodotuhur.*

*Modoranamira* (sons): *anmodoranamira, ēmodoranamira, modoranamirai, inmodoranamira, apmodoranamira, imodoranamira, wajemodoranamira(i).*

*Modoratuhura* (daughters): *anmodoratuhura, ēmodoratuhura, modoratuhurai, inmodoratuhura, apmodoratuhura, imodoratuhura, wajemodoratuhura(i).*

b. When the person of the possessor is to be indicated with some emphasis, the flexion is slightly different: the suffix *-i* is added in all persons and the 3d singular besides the suffix *-i* gets the prefix *ue-* (about this form see V §§ 1—2). For example: *natarai* (field house), *annatarai, ēnatarai, uenatarai, innatarai, apnatarai, inatarai, wajenatarai*. The difference between the two types of possessive flexion is clearly expressed by the way they are translated into Malay: *natarai* — rumahnja; *uenatarai* — dia punja rumah; *annatarai* — rumahku; *annatarai* — aku (or saja) punja rumah etc. In all persons the suffix *-i* may be replaced by *-ta*, which is often used, also in cases where it can hardly be meant to lay special emphasis on the person of the possessor. *Nēneta* (his, her or its name) is used quite as often as *nēnei*. Instead of *-i* we also frequently meet with *-je (-ie)*, *nēneta*, *nēnei* and *nēneje (nēneie)* being used quite indiscriminately. Yet there does exist a certain semantic difference between the three suffixes, which most probably finds its explanation in their origin. The suffix *-ta* is evidently of the same origin as the substantive *taan* (property), whereas *-je (-ie)*, which surely belongs to the same root as *-i*, also functions as a very weak demonstrative pronoun or article (see below IV § 1).

It is frequently doubtful indeed with which of the three functions we are dealing. For example: *namie* (72. 14) may mean that man or her husband; *tuhuraja* (72. 18) probably means daughters, but its meaning might also be his daughters. Other shades of meaning of *-ta* will be treated in section VII. At present we are dealing with *-ta* in its function of possessive suffix, e.g. *Nahata* (75. 11) — his Creator; *tuhuru nēneta Rueru* — a woman, named Rueru; *ēnēneta umani* — what is your name; *inaje ēleta* (or *ēlei*) *he, ha anleta* (or *anlei*) — this is not your house, but my house. When still more emphasis on the person of the possessor is required, the above-mentioned substantive *taan*, provided with the pronominal suffix *-i* is used instead of *-ta* or *-i*, in combination with the possessive prefix of the person concerned. E.g. *sorot ie antaani* — this (the) letter is mine; *inaa le tie ētaani* — this house is yours; *inaa le tie uetaani* — this house is his etc. It will be noticed that *-ta* and *-taani* approximately correspond with *-nja* and *-punja* in Malay: *inaa le antaani* — rumah ini aku (or saja) punja.

c. By means of *-taan* is formed a certain category of nominal compounds, the first member of the compound being an adjective, e.g. *dawar-taan pai* — act rudely (lit. commit rudeness, from *dawar* — rude). In a similar, but slightly different way is also used the word *māri* — his, her, its property; belonging to him, her, it. For example: *māriwaluruni* — badness (lit. his belonging which is bad); *mārilapain* — office, dignity (lit. his belonging which is great). It is only used as a first member of compounds and it does not seem to function as an independent possessive pronoun, as does *taani*.

d. When the name of the possessor is mentioned it precedes the noun indicating the possessed being or object and the latter gets the suffix *-i*. E.g. *Lolkeliau tuhurai* (Lolkeliau's wife, 81. 24); *Raisere Wakasere helei* (Raisere and Wakasere's friend, 112. 32; this example also shows that when there is more than one possessor, the suffix of the possessed remains the same).

e. Although the possessive flexion, described above, is still felt to be correct and idiomatic, it is not by any means used without exception. A variation of minor importance is the occasional use of fuller pronominal forms instead of the possessive prefixes proper, like e.g. *anutu inapanu* — my face (instead of *aninapanu*); *apuumajauale* — our (incl.) earth (instead of *apumajauale*); *iniwinan* — our (excl.) clothes-basket (instead of *inwinan*, though, in this instance, the *i* at the end may be a euphonious one). More important is the curious fact that the possessive prefixes are evidently on the way of being superseded by one general possessive prefix for all persons, viz. *i-* (*i-*). In the third person singular, where it replaces the suffix *-i*, it is very common, though the regular forms on *-i* are not yet rare. In other persons it is less frequently used as yet, but the tendency is unmistakable.

A few examples. *Ika* (my elder brother, 117. 37), *imua sere, ina iha* (my native land, my mother and father, 104. 14); *ina iha* (our mother and father,

incl., 76.34); *ihinani patui* (our fatherland, incl.; here is used the emphatic form on *-i*, so it stands for *aphinani patui* from *hinan patu*; 130.5); *ihelera* (their friends 81.15, 18); *idoro looro* (their spears and swords 120.34); *inalerene* (their sister, lit. mother sister, 83.28); *ina iha* (their mother and father, 77.33; also: *inaha*, 82.3; *ina ihai*, 81.42).

f. When treating the possessive compounds (I § 2) we have already mentioned the fact that there is an exception to the rule that the first member of these compounds indicates the possessor. This curious exception — the only one we know of — is the word for sister's child, which is *modoleren* instead of *lerenmodo*, as we should expect, e.g. *an(i)modoleren* (my sister's child, 87.27; 89.5); *modoralerenara*, *modolerenara* (sister's children, 114.8, 10); *modoleren* (sister's child, 89.15). Other possessive compounds with *modo* are quite regular, e.g. *anmodoha* (my child's father, 87.34); *modotna tie* (the child's mother, 88.4). About the possessive flexion in connection with numbers see III.

### § 3. Case relations.

Certain means of expressing the relation of agents and patients will be treated in VI § 1—3. There is one case only which may be expressed by a change of form, viz. the vocative, but in that case too it is very dubious at least whether we are dealing with case-endings proper, the alternative being a more or less arbitrary exclamatory change of the end of the word. For example: *ratei* (eagle! from *rata*, 70.13); *hale* (father! from *ha*, 110.1); *kake* (elder brother! from *ka* or *kaka*, 128.31).

### § 4. Degrees of comparison.

The comparative degree is expressed by means of the words *sia* and *resin*, both of which mean more, e.g. *inaa le tie unaa le ti sia* (or *resin*) *lapai* — this house here is larger than that house there (lit. this house here that house there more large). There is no means to render the idea of less than: *inaa le tie modo-modo ha unaa le tie ta lapai* — this house here small but that house there is large (about *ta* in sentences like this see VII). The superlatives and "too" are all expressed by *was* (very, very much, too). So *was tuure* may mean: very heavy, too heavy, and heaviest. The usual term to express equality and similarity is *oone* (like). For example: *inaa le tie lapain unaa le tie oone* — this house here is just as large as that house there (lit. this house here largeness that house there like).

## III NUMERALS

a. The cardinal numbers are: 1 — *Uani*, *auni*, *aun*, *aunu*, *un*. 2 — *Ei*, *ejeene*, *eene*, *ene*, *een*. 3 — *Utu*, *utueen(e)*, *uteen(e)*. 4 — *Pat(a)*, *pateen(e)*. 5 — *Limi*, *limeen(e)*. 6 — *Nēme*, *nemeen(e)*. 7 — *Pitu*, *pitueen(e)*, *pituen(e)*. 8 — *Kapa*, *kapeen(e)*, *kapaen(e)*. 9 — *Siwa*, *siween(e)*, *siwaen(e)*. 10 — *Taanaun(i)*. 11 — *Taanauni rianauni*. 12 — *Taanauni rianeene*. 13 — *Taanauni rianutu*. 14 — *Taanauni rianpata*.



15 — *Taanauni rianlimi*. 16 — *Taanauni riannēme*. 17 — *Taanauni rianpitu*. 18 — *Taanauni riankapa*. 19 — *Taanauni riansiwa*. 20 — *Taaneene*. 21 — *Taaneene rianauni*. 22. — *Taaneene rianeene* etc. 30 — *Taanutu*. 31 — *Taanutu rianauni* etc. 40 — *Taanpata*. 50 — *Taanlimi*. 60 — *Taanēme*. 70 — *Taanpitu*. 80 — *Taankapa*. 90 — *Taansiwa*. 100 — *Ra'auni* (hundreds: *rariun*). 101 — *Ra'auni rianauni* etc. 200 — *Raeene*. 300 — *Ra'utu* etc. 1000 — *Riunauni*. 2000 — *Riuneene* etc. 10000 — *Salinauni*. 11000 — *Salinauni riunauni* etc. 20000 — *Salineene* etc. 100000 — *Salintaanupur*. 200000 — *Salintaanei*. 300000 — *Salintaanutu* etc. 1000000 — *Salinrauni*. N.B. The larger numbers (probably all numbers above 1000) are never used, of course, but have been construed by the interpreter.

b. Ordinal numbers. First — *umarana*, *uanin*. Second — *nerenin*, *ejeenin*. Third — *alnerenin* (lit. further following, who follows further), *uteenen*. Fourth — *alten*, *tennerenin*, *pateen*. Fifth — *limeenen*. Sixth — *nēmeenen*. Seventh — *pituenen*. Eighth — *kapaenen*. Ninth — *siwaenen*. Tenth — *taanaunin*. Eleventh — *taanaun rianaunin*. Twelfth — *taanaun rianeenen*. Thirteenth — *taanaun rianuteenen* etc. Twentieth — *taaneeenen* etc.

c. Fractions.  $\frac{1}{2}$  — *Apra*.  $\frac{1}{3}$  — *Utunahati*.  $\frac{1}{4}$  — *Patnahati*.  $\frac{1}{5}$  — *Limnahati*.  $\frac{1}{6}$  — *Nēmnahati*.  $\frac{1}{7}$  — *Pitunahati*.  $\frac{1}{8}$  — *Kapanahati*.  $\frac{1}{9}$  — *Siwanahati*.  $\frac{1}{10}$  — *Taanaun(i)nahati*.  $\frac{2}{3}$  — *Utunahati le ejeen me* (lit. divide into three and take two).  $\frac{3}{4}$  — *Patnahati le uteen me*.  $\frac{2}{5}$  — *Limnahati le ejeen me*.  $\frac{4}{5}$  — *Limnahati le pateen me*.  $\frac{5}{6}$  — *Nēmnahati le lim me*.  $\frac{6}{7}$  — *Pitunahati le nēm me*.  $\frac{7}{8}$  — *Kapanahati le pitu me*.  $\frac{8}{9}$  — *Siwanahati le kapa me*.  $\frac{9}{10}$  — *Taannahati le siwa me*.  $\frac{10}{11}$  — *Taanaun rianaunnahati le taanaun me*.  $\frac{11}{12}$  — *Taanaun rianeennahati le taanaun rianaun me*.  $\frac{12}{13}$  — *Taaneennahati le taanaun riansiwa me*.  $\frac{13}{14}$  — *Raunnahati le taansiwa riansiwa me*.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  — *Ejeen(e)apra*.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  — *Uteen(e)apra*.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  — *Pateen(e)apra*.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  — *Limeen(e)apra*.  $6\frac{1}{3}$  — *Nēmeen me utunahatin aun ahure* (lit. take six add one divided into three).  $7\frac{1}{4}$  — *Pitu me patnahatin aun ahure*.  $8\frac{1}{5}$  — *Kapa me limnahatin aun ahure*, *limnahatin aun me kapa ahure* (take one divided into five add eight; the foregoing numbers may also be expressed in this way).  $9\frac{2}{7}$  — *Siwa me pitunahatin ejeen ti ahure* (take nine add the two divided into seven), *pitunahatin ejeen ti me siwa ahure* (take the two divided into seven add nine).  $10\frac{3}{8}$  — *Taanaun me kapanahatin utu ti ahure* (take ten add the three divided into eight), *kapanahatin utu ti me taanaun ahure* (take the three divided into eight add ten).

d. There is apparently no difference in function between the shorter and the longer forms of the cardinal numbers.

The numeral follows the substantive to which it refers: *le auni* — one house; *ratu utu* — three people. As in other Indonesian languages, there exist numeral classifiers, but there are a few only and their use is not strictly required. The classifier for human beings is *ratu* (human being of high caste, human being), for trees: *ara* (stem, trunk, tree), for fruits and



many, perhaps all, kinds of objects and also for children: *tapu* (kernel, pit). For example: four children — *modora pata*, *modora pateene*, *modora ratu pata* (or *pateene*), *modora tapu pata* (or *pateene*). Six younger brothers — *noora nami* (or *namira*, *namirai*) *ratu nēme*. Two clan-chiefs — *kapalsu rateene* (*ratu eene*), *padapalana rateene* (*ratu eene*). Five trees — *ete ara limi* (*limeene*). Two grandchildren — *ratara ratu eene* (*ejeene* etc.). Seven bullets — *ilap tapu pitu* (*pitueene*, *pitueene*).

e. Numerals are often followed by *apu* (together, all of them) in the possessive flexion whenever one wants to express that the number might be replaced by „all”. For example: my eyes (etc.) — *animamodo ejee napu*, *ēinamodo ejee napu*, *inamodo ejee napui*, *ininamodo ejee napu*, *apinamodo ejee napu*, *iinamodo* (or *inamodo*) *ejee napu*, *wajeinamodo ejee napu*. It will be noticed that *-apu* is treated as a suffix of the numeral as is evident from its getting the suffix *-i* in the third person singular. Instead of *ejee* may also be used *upur* (complete), *upureen* becoming *upreen*: *animamodo upreenapu*, *ēinamodo upreenapu*, *inamodo upreenapu* etc. Likewise: my hands — *antana ejee napu* etc. But: the four village-criers of this village — *inaa momor mariunie pata*; his four children — *uomodora ratu pata*, *uomodora pateene*; my five children — *anmodora ratu limi*, *anmodora limeene*; your two children — *ēmmodora ratu ei*, *ēmmodora ejeene*; my one child — *anmodo ratu uani*, *anmodo tapu uani*.

f. *Apu* also regularly follows a numeral referring to a personal pronoun. We two — *inrateenapu* (excl.), *aprateenapu* (incl.); you two — *irateenapu*; they two, the two of them — *wairateenapu*; we three — *inratu uteenapu* (excl.), *apratu uteenapu* (incl.); they three, the three of them — *wajeratu uteenapu*; we four — *inratu patapu*, *apratu patapu*; we five — *inratu limapu*, *apratu limapu* etc.

#### IV DEMONSTRATIVE, INTERROGATIVE, AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

##### § 1. Demonstrative pronouns.

a. There are two weakly demonstrative pronouns which in many cases function as postpositive articles, viz. *ie*, *je* and *tie*, *ti*, *te*. There is, however, a certain difference between the two in that *ie* is also used as a possessive suffix (see above, II § 2), whereas *tie* never has the latter function. In some cases it is rather difficult to determine with which of the two pronouns we have to do. For example: *Asa uteenapu tie wisarenie sukan sala* (70.37) — the pronouncement of the three birds was altogether wrong: here *wisarenie* may be taken as *wisare tie* or as *wisare ie*. Likewise *aranie* in *uma aranie* (70.16—17) — day (lit. the earth light) may stand for *ara tie* or for *ara ie*.

Occasionally *tie* is weakened to a mere emphatical particle which may be separated by the predicate from the substantive to which it refers, e.g. *tetu tukur nēme apu tipare te* (113.11) — then the six women hurried away.

Instead of *tie* we sometimes meet with *tu*, e.g. *Noihidai tu* (88.35), *kakara tu* (91.37); in both these cases it has the function of a postpositive article. N.B. this *tu* is not to be confused with *tu* — all, altogether.

b. The pronominal demonstrative stems proper are *ina(a)* — this here (also: here) and *una(a)* — that there (also: there).

This house here — *inaa le, inaa le tie (ti, te), inaa le tinaire, inaa le tinaje*. That house there — *unaa le, unaa le tie (ti, te), unaa le tinairi, unaa le tinaje*. *Tinaje* is also met with in the forms *tina'i* and *tina'ie*. It is quite evident that *tinairi* is composed of *tie, inaa, and iri* (see below); and *tinaje* of *tie, inaa, and ie*.

This here (subst.) — *inaje*; that there (subst.) — *unaje*. Is here, being here — *ināni* (from *inaa āni*); is there, being there — *unāni* (from *unaa āni*); is this — *inairi*; is that — *unairi*.

Examples: This is my house — *inaje anlei*; this house is mine — *inaa le tie antaani*; my house is this — *anle ta inairi*. This is your house — *inaje ēlei*; this house is yours — *inaa le tie ētaani*; your house is this — *ēle ta inairi*. This is his house — *inaje uelei*; this house is his — *inaa le tie uetaani*; his house is this — *uele ta inairi*. This is our (excl.) house — *inaje inlei*; this house is ours (excl.) — *inaa le tie intaani*; our (excl.) house is this — *inle ta inairi*. This is our (incl.) house — *inaje aplei*; this house is ours (incl.) — *inaa le tie aptaani*; our (incl.) house is this — *aple ta inairi*. This is your (pl.) house — *inaje ilei*; this house is yours (pl.) — *inaa le tie itaani*; your (pl.) house is this — *ile ta inairi*. This is their house — *inaje wajelei*; this house is theirs — *inaa le tie wajetaani*; their house is this — *wajele ta inairi*.

c. Although in these cases *ta* may be translated with "is", it is by no means to be taken for a copula. We have already pointed out its function as a possessive suffix of the 3d person and later on we shall meet with it again in the function of relative pronoun. When following or preceding a subst. demonstr. pronoun it may always be translated as a copula, but its real function seems to be to emphasize, while it is not indispensable.

Examples: This is the reason of it — *inaje ta reiwoo*. This is delicious — *inaje was pane* (81.29). This is the female rainbow — *inaje ta larmamata tuhuru* (85.33). My elder brother's face is this — *an'ka inapanu ta inairi* (75.7). This is not your fowl, but my fowl — *inaje ēasai he, ha anasai*. This (that) mountain is high — *inaa (unaa) teher tie lokide*. This (that) high mountain — *inaa (unaa) teher lok(i)dana tie, teher lok(i)dana tie*. This here (that there) is a high mountain — *inaje (unaje) teher lokdana*.

d. *Iri, iri* may be used with the same meaning as *ināni*. *Tiri* is used at the end of a sentence to express: this is, thus is, this, thus. Examples: *Haie ināni, haie iri* — his father is here. *Modo hanatana iri* — here is a sick child. *Larmamata adatau oonen tiri* (85.32) — this is the rainbow which is like smoke.

e. There are two words for self: *jejen(i)* and *iasi*. When it refers to a person indicated by a personal pronoun *jejen(i)* may get the pronominal prefix whereas with *iasi* either the independent personal pronoun is used or the prefix is linked to another word. Examples: I myself — *anjejeni*,

*ante iasi*. I myself shall go — *anjejen(i) tonon mara, antono iasi mara* (113.15). I am afraid of myself — *anjejen(i) imane, ante iasi imane*.

f. The same — *uani* (one). Is the same — *uani tiri, uani tinairi*. For example: *Uruwadu maro laulausana uani tiri* (111.9—10) — the Creator is the same for all human beings (or: to the Creator all human beings are the same). So *nair ta uani tinairi* (134.29—30) — then the custom was the same.

## § 2. Interrogative pronouns.

*Umani* — who; *inai* — what; *ina* — which, what (attributive and prepositive); *tenai, tenairi* — which (attributive and postpositive).

Examples: *Uman(i) ta inairi* — who is this? *Inaita inairi* — what is this? *Inaje inai* — what is this? *Modo tie umani* — who is this child? *Modora tie umani* — who are these children? *Meen ie inai* — what is this sound? *Inaita pai tonon ioone* — what caused it to be so? *Modo tenairi* — which child? *Losu tenairi* — which boat? *Inaa uma te ina uma apte nahama'i* — which (what) land this is, we do not know (lit. this land here which land we do not know). *Losu tenai ta apte asi* — which boat do we see? *Ēnēneta umani* — what is your name? *Momor tie nēneta inai* — what is the name of this village? *A'umani* — who are you (sing.)? About *a'* — see V § 1. About *ta* as used in the above expressions see VII.

## § 3. Indefinite pronouns.

*Maro aun* — somebody (lit. one human being). *Maro aun ... aun* — one ... another. *Maro aunio uhe* — not a single being, nobody at all (about o see VIII § 2). *Umani umano uhe* — nobody whosoever. *Inai inajo uhe* — nothing whatever. *Nisaun he* — nothing, e.g. *nisaun toho ma wari he* — nothing is to be heard; *nisaun asi he* — saw nothing (80.16). *Umani umano ma'u* — whosoever comes. *Wamnaa* — everybody, e.g. *wamnaa pēmu le ialuana mara* — everybody went home (lit. everybody returning went to his place).

# V PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE, AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

## § 1. Personal pronouns: independent.

a. When the personal pronoun is used quite independently, e.g. in answer to a question, we sometimes meet with a set of forms ending in *-ri*, except in the third persons. These forms are: *anri* — I; *ēri* — you; *inri* — we (excl.); *apri* — we (incl.); *iri* — you (plur.). In the third persons are used *ue* and *waje* respectively. In our text a *ri*- form occurs in two places only, viz. *inrenie*, which stands for *inri(n)ie* (we, excl., with emphasis, 102.3) and (by mistake) *iri* (you, 129.38). As a rule, however, we meet with the same forms which are used to indicate the agents in the verbal flexion. These accentuated or complete forms of the personal pronoun are as follows.

b. I — *ante, anta, anut, anutu*; occasionally also *an(u)*.

Examples: *Ante taja* — I sleep; *anta ma'u* — I come; *anut araa taja* —

I (shall) sleep below; *ante losu lapai asi* — I see a large boat; *anta pai* (to) *sala* — I have done wrong; *anut pai mule* — I made away with; *anutu lukun me ēina* — I gave you speech; *anwaike* — I am going after it, I am going to look for it (89. 26—27). About the use of the form *an-* in connection with certain particles see VI §§ 4—8, VIII §§ 2—3.

You — *ate*, occasionally *a*; there are also emphatical forms: *aate* and *ēta*. Examples: *Ate taja* — you sleep; *ate umare wisare* — you pronounce (give your pronouncement) first (70. 14); *ate anhararesare* — you revile me (87. 36); *ate dawar taan pai* — you acted rudely (91. 8); *aate inoohai* — how do you act (81. 8)? In the question “who are you?” *ate* is usually abbreviated to *a'*: *a'umani* (76. 25; 119. 32). But in other instances too *ate* may be replaced by *a-*, e.g. *amara* — you went (76. 11); *āsi* (= *aasi*) — you see. Like *an-* in the first person, the abbreviated form *a-* in the second person is also used in connection with certain particles (see VI §§ 4—8, VIII §§ 2—3).

He — *ue* (sometimes *ueta*). *Ue taja* — he sleeps etc. Occasionally *i-*, e.g. *inumusaure* — he wept continually (72. 8).

We (excl.) — *inte*, *inta*, *inut*, *inutu*. Examples: *Inta akaure* — we acted according to, we stuck to (81. 11); *inut le mara* — we are going home (86. 26). The abbreviated form *in-* is used in the same cases as *an-* and *a-* in the first and second person respectively.

We (incl.) — *apte*, *aput*, *aputu*, and occasionally *apu*. Examples: *Apte itanania* — we intermarry (101. 29); *aput momor le uani soli hirari* — we live in one village (132. 28); *aputu panuale* — we go on (76. 35); *apu uha me doro loor pai* — we use sugar-cane for spears and swords (131. 12). The abbreviated form *ap-* is used as the above-mentioned short forms of other persons.

You (plur.) — *ite*, *ītu*; rather frequently also *i*. Examples: *Īte mara* — you go (79. 19); *ītu ma'u* — you have come (129. 42); *i leiaataja* — you sleep upstairs (123. 6—7); *i ratu utu* — you three (71. 1); *i onhali ma'u* — you had not yet come (124. 34); *inahanawe* — you learn (79. 19).

They — *waje*, e.g. *waje iira waaleser pai* — they make their provisions. About the exact grammatical function of the complete forms see VI.

## § 2. Personal pronouns: prefixed.

I, me — *an-*. Examples: *Antajan jāni* (= *ante jānin taja*) — I sleep well; *anlalaren walale* (= *ante walalen lalare*) — I walk fast. *Ate anasi* — you see me, I am seen by you; *ue anasi* — he sees me, I am seen by him; *ite anasi* — you (pl.) see me, I am seen by you (pl.); *waje anasi* — they see me, I am seen by them. So *ate anuda* — you will strike me, I shall be struck by you; so *anuda* — I shall be struck (but so *ante uda* — I shall strike); so *ate isa me anina* — you will give a little to me, I shall be given a little by you (*me ina* — give); so *ate oomana me annanurahai* — you will open the door for me, I shall be opened the door for by you (*urahai* — to open; *nanurahai* — to open for); *ēsorot ta mara aniro* — a letter from you

to me (lit. your letter going to me; *iro* — to, as far as, till). *Antono* — I shall, I am going to, e.g. *antono iasi mara eme* — I shall fetch it myself (113.15); so *antono eme inoohai panao* — what shall I do now (108.38—39)? About *tono* see also VIII §§ 2—3.

You — *ē-*. Examples: *ētajān jāni* (= *ate jānin taja*) — you sleep well; *ēlalaren walale* (= *ate walalen lalare*) — you walk fast. *Ante ēasi* — I see you, you are seen by me; *ue ēasi* — he sees you, you are seen by him; *inte ēasi* — we see you, you are seen by us; *waje ēasi* — they see you, you are seen by them. So *ante ēuda* — I shall strike you, you will be struck by me; so *ēuda* — you will be struck (cp. so *ate uda* — you will strike); so *ante isa me ēina* — I shall give you a little, you will be given a little by me; so *ante oomana me ēnanurahai* — I shall open the door for you, you will be opened the door for by me; *ansorot ta mara ēiro* — a letter from me to you. *Atono* — you will, you are going to, you shall, e.g. *atono annasohole* — you shall visit me (73.22); *wadu pitu atono mā'u* — after seven days you shall come (84.23). About *tono* see also VIII §§ 2—3.

He, him — *ue-*, *u-*. Examples: *Uetajan jāni* (= *ue janin taja*) — he sleeps well; *uelalaren walale* (= *ue walalen lalare*) — he walks fast. *Ante u(e)asi* — I see him, he is seen by me; *ate u(e)asi* — you see him, he is seen by you; *ue u(e)asi* — he sees him, he is seen by him; *inte u(e)asi* — we (excl.) see him, he is seen by us; *apte u(e)asi* — we (incl.) see him, he is seen by us; *ite u(e)asi* — you (plur.) see him, he is seen by you; *waje u(e)asi* — they see him, he is seen by them. So *ante u(e)uda* — I shall strike him, he will be struck by me; so *u(e)uda* — he will be struck (cp. so *ue uda* — he will strike); so *ante isa me u(e)ina* — I shall give him a little, he will be given a little by me; so *ante oomana me uenanurahai* — I shall open the door for him, he will be opened the door for by me; *ansorot ta mara ueiro* — a letter from me to him. *Īna* (= *iina*) — to him; but probably *ueto* — he will, he is going to.

We, us (excl.) — *in-*. Examples: *Intajan jāni* (= *inte jānin taja*) — we sleep well; *inlalaren walale* (= *inte walalen lalare*) — we walk fast. *Ate inasi* — you see us, we are seen by you; *ue inasi* — he sees us, we are seen by him; *ite inasiere* — you (pl.) see us, we are seen by you; *waje inasiere* — they see us, we are seen by them. So *ate inuda* — you will strike us, we shall be struck by you; so *ue inuda* — he will strike us, we shall be struck by him; so *ite inudare* — you (pl.) will strike us, we shall be struck by you; so *waje inudare* — they will strike us, we shall be struck by them; so *inuda* — we shall be struck (cp. so *inte uda* — we shall strike); so *ate isa me inina* — you will give us a little, we shall be given a little by you; so *ate oomana me innanurahai* — you will open the door for us, we shall be opened the door for by you. *Intono* — we (excl.) shall, we are going to, e.g. *intono walale mā'u* — we shall quickly come (129.32—33). N.B. In some of the above-mentioned examples we have met with the verbal plural ending *-re* (*-ere*), as in *asiere*, *udare*. Sometimes *-tere* is used. In the transitive

flexion it is apparently only used when both agens and patiens are plural (about its use in the imperative see VI § 4).

We, us (incl.) — *ap-*. Examples: *aptajan jāni* (= *apte jānin taja*) — we sleep well; *aplalaren walale* (= *apte walalen lalare*) — we walk fast. *Ue apasi* — he sees us, we are seen by him; *waje apasiere* — they see us, we are seen by them. So *ue apuda* — he will strike us, we shall be struck by him; so *waje apudare* — they will strike us, we shall be struck by them; so *apuda* — we shall be struck (cp. so *apte uda* — we shall strike); so *ue isa me apina* — he will give us a little, we shall be given a little by him; so *waje isa me apinare* — they will give us a little, we shall be given a little by them; so *ue oomana me apnanurahai* — he will open the door for us, we shall be opened the door for by him; so *waje oomana me apnanurahaie* — they will open the door for us, we shall be opened the door for by them. *Aptono* — we (incl.) shall, we are going to, e.g. *tartei aptono mara* — when shall we go (104.40)?

You (plur.) — *i-*. Examples: *itajan jāni* (= *ite jānin taja*) — you sleep well; *ilalaren walale* (= *ite walalen lalare*) — you walk fast. *Ante iasi* — I see you, you are seen by me; *ue iasi* — he sees you, you are seen by him; *inte iasiere* — we see you, you are seen by us; *waje iasiere* — they see you, you are seen by them. So *ante iuda* — I shall strike you, you will be struck by me; so *ue iuda* — he will strike you, you will be struck by him; so *inte iudare* — we shall strike you, you will be struck by us; so *waje iudare* — they will strike you, you will be struck by them; so *iuda* — you will be struck (cp. so *ite uda* — you will strike); so *ante isa me ina* (= *iina*) — I shall give you a little, you shall be given a little by me; so *inte isa me inatere* (or *inare*) — we shall give you a little, you shall be given a little by us; so *ante oomana me inanurahai* — I shall open the door for you, you will be opened the door for by me; so *inte oomana me inanurahaie* — we shall open the door for you, you will be opened the door for by us. *Ītono* — you (pl.) will, you are going to, you shall, e.g. *itono lor nasi* — you shall (you must) look seaward (124.37).

They, them — *waje-*. Examples: *Wajetajan jāni* (= *waje jānin taja*) — they sleep well; *wajelalaren walale* (= *waje walalen lalare*) — they walk fast. *Ante wajeasi* — I see them, they are seen by me; *ate wajeasi* — you see them, they are seen by you; *ue wajeasi* — he sees them, they are seen by him; *inte wajeasiere* — we (excl.) see them, they are seen by us (excl.); *apte wajeasiere* — we (incl.) see them, they are seen by us (incl.); *ite wajeasiere* — you (pl.) see them, they are seen by you (pl.); *waje wajeasiere* — they see them, they are seen by them. So *ante wajeuda* — I shall strike them, they will be struck by me; so *ate wajeuda* — you shall strike them, they will be struck by you; so *ue wajeuda* — he will strike them, they will be struck by him; so *inte wajeudare* — we (excl.) shall strike them, they will be struck by us (excl.); so *apte wajeudare* — we (incl.) shall strike them, they will be struck by us (incl.); so *ite wajeudare* — you (pl.) will strike them, they will be struck by you (pl.); *waje wajeu-*



*dare* — they will strike them, they will be struck by them; so *ante isa me wajeina* — I shall give them a little, they will be given a little by me; so *inte isame wajeinare* (or *wajeinatere*) — we (excl.) shall give them a little, they will be given a little by us (excl.); so *ante oomana me wajenanurahai* — I shall open the door for them, they will be opened the door for by me; so *inte oomana me wajenanurahaie* — we (excl.) shall open the door for them, they will be opened the door for by us (excl.). About the exact grammatical use of these pronominal prefixes see VI.

### § 3. Reflexive pronoun.

There is one reflexive pronoun for all persons; it is used as a prefix, viz. *i-*. Examples: *apte aluana anaje le imanatu* — we looked for a place to shelter ourselves; *ime hahan ... nerenwaje* — she finished by following the corpse (lit. she made herself follow the corpse, 96.4—5); *ajaka ti me isoso* — he smeared himself with the ashes (109.35); *ante iasi imane* — I am afraid of myself; *kaka ie ime ada eru jamoi* — the eldest threw herself into the bale-fire (91.34); *ime tai muduare* — they betook themselves into the sea (98.25).

### § 4. Reciprocal pronoun.

This is *ita* — each other. For example: *lën lapai oo umajaele ita'uthelere* — the large sky and the earth cover each other (70.2); *lën lapai oo umajaele itaname* — the large sky and the earth cohabited (lit. planted each other, 71.22—23); *rateen apu tie itaahure* — those two people married (71.26—27); *kaka oo noonoo itanautane* — the elder and the younger brother asked (consulted) each other (73.14); *apte itanania* — we (incl.) intermarry (101.29); *inte itanakerelata he* — we (excl.) do not intermarry (101.40—41). *Ita* is not to be taken for a pronominal prefix; it may be separated from the verb, e.g. *ita al tatane pee* — going (intending) to meet each other again (83.37).

## VI VERBAL FLEXION

### § 1. Transitive and intransitive.

The distinction of transitive and intransitive verbs in the current sense of the word does not have its exact equivalent in Oirata grammar. Direct and indirect object are not distinguished grammatically and in the verbal flexion the ideas of transitive and intransitive do not play a rôle of any importance.

### § 2. Active and passive.

There is no grammatical distinction of active and passive construction. When the agens is not mentioned, and especially when there is no agens proper, the action must needs be conceived as passive, but there is no grammatical indication whatever that such is actually the case. For example: *Uma etere ajere* — the islands were arranged (the agens is not mentioned



and is even uncertain, 71. 35—36); *ue uma etere ajere* would mean: he arranges (arranged) the islands or: by him the islands were arranged. *Tetu kuar utrepele* — then the anchor was cut off (the agens is not mentioned, it may be "somebody else" or "they", 74. 21). *Kaka ie ime ada eru jamoi, noonoo etu uda ro* — the eldest threw herself into the bale-fire, the youngest has been killed. *Ikarara me umar kasaru* — his elder brothers were told to go in front (agens not mentioned; in the preceding sentence the elder brothers are the agens, 92. 37). *Inaa lodon ti utrepele, tono iihī saike auoro* — when the rotan had been cut through, it strew about its fruits (or: its fruits were strewn about, 94. 29). *Tetu toron me unahutrau* — then the basket was thrown away (the agens of this sentence is patiens in the preceding sentence, 116. 27). Likewise, *anuda* may mean either I am struck or: somebody strikes me; *ate anuda* — you strike me or: I am struck by you; *ante uda* — I strike or: somebody is struck by me; *ante ēuda* — I strike you or: you are struck by me. When the agens is mentioned, there is no means to determine whether or not the action is felt as passive, the form remaining the same and the order of words being always agens — patiens — predicate.

### § 3. *Energetic and inert.*

a. In order to obtain some insight into the conceptions which lie at the back of the prominent categories in the verbal flexion we may summarize the above-described functions of the independent and affixed personal pronoun in the flexion of noun and verb.

In the possessive flexion the person of the possessor may be expressed, as we have seen, in the following ways.

Standard forms (not emphatic)		Emphatic forms		Modern equalized form
Sing. 1	<i>an-</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
„ 2	<i>ē-</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
„ 3	<i>-i</i>	<i>ue-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
Plur. 1 (excl.)	<i>in-</i>	<i>in-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
„ „ (incl.)	<i>ap-</i>	<i>ap-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
„ 2	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>
„ 3	<i>waje-</i>	<i>waje-</i>	<i>-i(-ie, -ta)</i>	<i>i-</i>

In the verbal flexion the pronoun is used as follows.

Agens (indifferent whether the verb is trans. or intrans.)	Agens, with <i>n</i> -form of intrans. verb. Patiens when the verb is trans.
Sing. 1 <i>ante</i>	<i>an-</i>
„    2 <i>ate</i>	<i>ẽ-</i>
„    3 <i>ue</i>	<i>ue-</i>
Plur. 1 (excl.) <i>inte</i>	<i>in-</i>
„    „ (incl.) <i>apte</i>	<i>ap-</i>
„    2 <i>ite</i>	<i>i-</i>
„    3 <i>waje</i>	<i>waje-</i>

For example: I sleep — *ante taja* or: *antajan*; I strike — *ante uda*; I am struck, somebody strikes me — *anuda*. It is quite evident that *antajan* really means: my sleeping, *antajan jāni*: my sleeping is good. Likewise *anudan* may be taken to mean: my striking, but in this case my refers to the patiens, and *anudan* consequently means: I who am struck, who strikes me, who strikes for me, and who is struck for me. Likewise *aninan* (from *ina-* give) means I who am given, who gives me, who gives to me, and who is given to me.

b. From all this it is evident that the functional difference between the complete and the prefixed forms of the personal pronoun is not exactly based on the distinction of agens and patiens, but on a slightly different distinction, viz. between intentional action and unintentional action or inaction, in other words the distinction of "energetic" and "inert" <sup>1)</sup>. In some instances, of course, this antithesis coincides with the distinction of active and passive, and sometimes with the difference between transitive and intransitive, but neither of the latter two contrasts is essential in Oirata grammar.

c. It is not superfluous to point out expressly that the "abbreviated" forms of the independent personal pronouns which have been mentioned in V § 1 should not be confused with the prefixed forms treated in § 2. It is not to be disputed that the morphological system is undergoing a process of simplification manifesting itself especially in the possessive and in the verbal flexion. In the former the complete construction (with prefix and suffix: *an-le-i*), which now functions as "emphatic form", is obviously getting obsolete. The more modern construction has lost the suffix, except in the third pers. singular, which has cast off the prefix instead (*an-le*; *le-i*). And at present this construction is being replaced by the use of a common possessive prefix in all persons. In the verbal flexion we notice that abbreviated forms are occasionally used with the meaning of independent pronouns, viz. *an(u)* instead of *ante*, *a* instead of *ate*, *i* instead of *ue*, *in* instead of *inte*, *ap(u)* instead of *apte*, *i* instead of *ite*. Some of these are homonymous with the "inert" forms, as *in*, *ap*, *i*, but others are different from the latter: thus the abbreviated form of *ate* is not *ē-* (the "inert" form) but *a-*; the abbreviated form of *ue* is *i-*, which is very seldom used as "inert" form. It is not to be doubted that we are dealing with two different sets of forms.

d. The antithesis of energetic and inert is also reflected by the use of the auxiliary verb *eme* or (in some cases) *pai*. *Eme*, which Malay-speaking people invariably translate with *kasih-ambil* (give-take), expresses that the

<sup>1)</sup> The terms *energetic*: *inert* (*energeticus*: *iners*) originate with C. C. Uhlenbeck, who was the first to draw attention to this important grammatical antithesis in his penetrating treatise: "Het passieve karakter van het verbum transitivum of van het verbum actionis in talen van Noord-Amerika" (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, 5e Reeks, Deel II), Amsterdam 1917, p. 187 ff.

action is performed intentionally and that both agens and patiens are known. To our linguistic sense the meaning of a transitive verb remains the same indifferent whether or not it is preceded by *eme*; with intransitive verbs it has a causative function. In the last-mentioned case the agens of the intransitive action is the patiens of the action expressed by *eme* + the intransitive verb. *Eme*, often abbreviated to *em* or *me*, functions as an independent verb with the meaning of take, treat (deal with) or (rather seldom) give; e.g. *ahi me* — catch fish (120.5); *eme ihar naree, eme hai naree* — treat like a dog, treat like a pig (104.12); *eme inami to waalessere* — gave (it) as provision for her brother (91.17). Much more usual, however, is its function as an auxiliary verb. The translation *kasih* does not in the first place refer to the meaning of give, but to the function of Malay *kasih* as a causative auxiliary verb: *kasih turun* = *turunkan* (let down, cause to descent), *kasih djalan* = *djalankan* (send away, send on, cause to go). The use of *eme* as an auxiliary verb expressing "energetic" action does not by any means imply that constructions with *eme* are exclusively "active". The very formula which is used to express its function in Malay (*kasih* — *ambil*) is suggestive of neutrality with regard to the antithesis of active and passive. When the predicate is taken as active, the agens is the grammatical subject of *eme*, and when the predicate is considered to be passive, the patiens is the grammatical subject of *eme*, which in that case should be translated as auxiliary of the passive voice (to be). For example: *Noonoo ie taiuput me punhatle* — the younger brother collected sea-foam, by the younger brother sea-foam was collected (73.27—28).

e. The neutral character of the construction with *eme* as such with regard to the distinction of active and passive is conclusively proven by the fact that in some cases it is obviously active whereas in other cases its passive character is not less evident. Thus the construction is active in *eme ma'u* — bring!; *ira me āni* — fill it with water! On the other hand it is passive in sentences and expressions as *jāni ha anme raja pai* — I ought to be made raja; *anhai ta ante eme ēinan tiri* — my pig which has been given by me to you; *eme udan* — who is struck (cp. *udan* — who strikes, striking); *tetu tiam karhou uru me jaitapul pain aun me ina* — then he was given a staff with a head made of kerbau-horn (136.14—15).

f. The indirect object and other adjuncts are put between *eme* and the verb which together with *eme* forms the predicate. For example: *Noonoo ie ... wouwou amu mulenana ti me ikarara asile koto* — by the younger brother the blow-gun arrow having disappeared was told to his elder brothers, the younger brother told his elder brothers that the blow-gun arrow had disappeared (89.19—20). *Isa me inina* — give us (excl.) a little (91.31). *Anutu eme haikodo muduume* — I put (him) in a pigsty (91.6). *Noun ti me ileren asile minene* — this instruction was told (by him) to his sister, he instructed his sister thus (92.4).

g. When the patiens is indicated by a pronominal prefix, the latter precedes either *eme* or the main verb. For example: *Ihara eme itaseile* —

the dogs pulled each other (91. 29—30). *Me isoso* — (he) besmeared himself (109. 35). *Īme hahan nerenwaje* — she sent herself away with the corpse (she followed the corpse, 96. 4—5). *Ime tai muduare* — they betook themselves into the sea (98. 25).

*Eme ... pai* (about *pai* see below) is used to express: cause to be, use for, regard as, mistake for. For example: *Naha tuhurai tie eme ... ileu waiten pai* — the Creator caused the women (wives) to be carrying their loads, used the wives for load-carriers (72. 19—21). *Tulawara ... eme lapur pai* — they used ballast-stones for fire-stones (hearth-stones, 78. 4—5). *Eme āl apra pai* — (They) were mistaken for the enemy (119. 29). *Apte ina me doro looro uraha uplaka pai* — what shall we use for slingstones? (131. 10—12).

h. As a causative auxiliary verb *eme* functions e.g. in: *Uruwadu mei me unarau* — the Creator put a table there (72. 28—29). *Īra me āni* — fill (it) with water! (lit. cause water to be!).

i. Sometimes — and not very seldom — *eme* is omitted in cases where it ought to be used. Perhaps this is another symptom of the process of grammatical simplification which we have noticed above in reference to the possessive flexion. Examples: *Ihara me itaseile* — the dogs pulled each other (91. 28—29); comp. *noonoo ... karhou ara aun seile momor le ara nahemau* — he pulled (took along with him) one kerbau and went to the village (99. 6—7). *Horokoko ... eme Laiwahana mani utrepele* — Horokoko cut Laiwahana's throat (95. 13—15); comp. *Kaskoi ratu ... lodonara ti uturepele* — the noble Kaskoi cut the rotan-tree in two (94. 19—20). *Tuhur ka ... noonoo me ura kasarū* — the first wife sent the second wife back (95. 35—36); comp. *Horokoko ituhurai kasarū* — Horokoko ordered his wife (95. 28).

j. As a causative auxiliary verb *eme* may be replaced by *pai* or *pai to*. For example: *pai to āni* (= *eme āni*) — fill; *pai to umu* (= *eme umu*) — cause to die, kill. Instead of *eme* or *pai to* one may also use *eme pai to*; as a matter of fact, *eme*, as expressing energetic action, ought to be used in any verbal construction with a causative meaning. Nowadays, however, *pai to* is more common than *eme pai to*, which again proves that the grammatical distinction of energetic and inert is weakening.

When used with a transitive verb *pai to* (*eme pai to*) does not, like *eme*, express intentional action, but retains its causative function. Thus *pai to uda* means cause to strike, whereas *eme uda* means strike.

Some more examples of *pai (to)* as a causative auxiliary verb: *Pai to ... ita'uthelere* — caused to cover each other (70. 1—2); *pai to sulmata* — made smooth and thining (caused to shine, 93. 42); *anut pai mule* — I made away with (caused to disappear) (89. 26); *pai kilate* — caused to glitter (98. 24); *isetre pai* — change their dress (lit. cause themselves to change) (111. 23). The auxiliary *pai to* is also used to express: should, had better, e.g. *to pai to aputu iliare* — so we had better return (106. 1—2).

As an independent verb *pai* means to make, to do, to cause to be.

Examples: *Ira pai* — to cook porridge (lit. water) (77. 43); *ira timini ira ar pai* — to boil water (78. 1—2); *lapur pai* — to make hearth-stones (cp. *eme lapur pai* — use for hearth-stones) (78. 4—5); *intapu tinai tulawara pai* — that sand was used as ballast (78. 9—10); *hele pai kula pai* — make friends, become friends with (passim); *aiwadu pai* — to make a light (81. 20); *iwata pai* — wash her hair (82. 34—35); *itua hala pai* — take care of (lit. make) your (pl.) lontartrees and gardens (85. 14); *pudi akal pai* — cheat (105. 26); *karhou panar ... tete seman pai le lere pai* — a female kerbau made the outriggers and the mast (the outriggers etc. were made out of a female kerbau) (108. 43—109. 2); *hu pai taru pai* — fish with nets and lines (lit. make nets and lines) (120. 5); *itu inpai wirte nawa* — you (pl.) made us ashamed (120. 30); *tajan umun pai* — to sleep as if dead (lit. to make sleeping dying) (124. 11); *al pai* — fell into a quarrel, made war (131. 9).

§ 4. *Imperative, adhortative, prohibitive.*

a. The imperative is formed by the verb-stem followed by the particle *pa*, which, however, is often omitted. In the plural the ending *-re* (*-ere*, *-tere*) is added, but in some cases there is a different verb-stem for the plural. For example: *Taja, taja pa* — sleep (sing.)! *Tajare, tajatere pa* — sleep (plur.)! *Naaje pa* — swim (sing.)! *Naajere pa* — swim (plur.)! *Imire pa* — sit down (sing.)! *Īrua pa* — sit down (plur.)! The verb *āna*, *ān*, which means to try, is used as an adhortative particle (cp. the similar use of *tjoba*, which also means to try, in Malay), e.g. *ate āna inaa aluana tinai medenami* — you had better raise this place here, please raise this place here; *ānwatae* — look, please! The use of *pai to* with the meaning of should, had better, has already been mentioned in the preceding §. About the weakly adhortative meaning of *tono* see VIII § 3.

b. The negative imperative or prohibitive makes use of the particle *toho*, preceding the verb, followed by the negative adverb *he* or *he pa*, which is always put at the end of the sentence. The function of *toho* by itself is that of an emphasizing particle. *Toho ... he* does not necessarily have a prohibitive function; it often functions as an emphatic negation. When the meaning is prohibitive, *he* is rather often omitted, *toho* consequently expressing: don't! When the agens to which the negation or the prohibition refers is indicated by a personal pronoun, this pronoun precedes *toho* in its prefixed form. Examples: *Atoho imire he pa* — do not sit down (sing.)! *Ītoho ĩrua he pa* — do not sit down (plur.)! *Atoho taja he pa* — do not sleep (sing.)! *Ītoho tajatere he pa* — do not sleep (plur.)! *Atoho naaje he pa* — do not swim (sing.)! *Ītoho naajere he pa* — do not swim (plur.)! *Atoho walale mara he pa* — do not go quickly (sing.)! *Ītoho walale marare he pa* — do not go quickly (plur.)! *Atoho ioohai* — do not act thus! *Uetoho lada sohon ne he* — he should not speak Malay! *Atoho ēhele pai to umu he* — do not kill your friend (81. 27)! *Atoho eme*

*ina* — do not give (91.23)! For examples of *toho* ... *he* as an emphatic negation see VIII § 2.

§ 5. *Past.*

There is no special form of the past tense. The word *ro* (already) may be added to the verb to express that the action has been completed. For example: *Ate anudaro* — you have struck me. *Ēudaro* — you have been struck. *Ue apudaro* — he has struck us. *Waje apudaro* — they have struck us. *Waje apasiro* — they have seen us (N.B. when *-ro* is used, the plural ending falls away). *Umuro* — is dead (has died). *Umuron* — who has died, who is dead, ghost.

§ 6. *Future.*

There is no particle of the future tense in the strict sense of the word. The particle *so*, which precedes the predicate, may be used to express that something is expected or intended to happen, for example: *So anut inamire* — I shall sit down here. *So ante* (often contracted to *sante*) *ēuda* — I shall strike you. *Apte so ina me adaluku* — what shall we answer? Other shades of meaning of *so* are mentioned in VIII § 2. Another particle which in a way expresses that an action will take place in the future is *pee*, which in contradistinction to *so* is postpositive. Its proper meaning is going to, going to be, intending to and its function is much the same as the one of Malay *hendak*. For example: *Inahai to ite inuda pee* — why are you (pl.) going to strike us, why do you want to strike us?

## VII RELATIVE PRONOUN AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

a. A relative pronoun in the proper sense does not exist. The subordinate clause is often introduced or indicated by *ta*, which we have already met with more than once in a different connection (cp. II § 2, IV § 1). This particle may sometimes be translated as a relative pronoun and sometimes as a possessive suffix of the third person or as a mere emphatic particle. According to the context, in other words, it may be functionally equivalent with Malay *jang*, *-nja*, or *-lah*. For example: *Inaita ata emete* — what do you carry along, what (is it) that you carry along? In this instance the second *ta* introduces the subordinate clause. *Uru ta taumen, wadu ta iasuilen oone* — like the moon that rises, the sun that climbs; in this instance, however, we might also translate: like the moon's rising, the sun's climbing (105. 18—19). *Inaa tuhur ti namrai ta umu* or: *tuhur inaje namrai ta umu* — this woman whose husband died. *Modo jejen ta natara nāni* — the child alone was in the house (115. 9).

b. Sometimes the subordinate clause is introduced by the particle *tono*, which in that case may generally be translated with "that". When the agents of the subordinate clause is indicated by a personal pronoun, the latter is in its abbreviated form prefixed to *tono*. *Tono*, however, is also



used in other functions and is, consequently, felt to be deficient in expressive force as an indicator of the subordinate clause. As a matter of fact, *tono* is a weak particle altogether; this is probably the reason of its being frequently used double. For example: *Inahai tono atono sauren tiri* — what is the reason that you are crying thus? (91. 2—3). But even this reduplication is evidently felt to be not sufficient. The most common indicator or introductor of the subordinate clause is the *n*-suffix, which we have already met with as a formans of participles and nomina agentis (I § 3). This suffix is by preference attached to the verb, but it may also be affixed to other members of the sentence. The ways in which this suffix is used to express grammatical subordination may be learned from the following examples.

*Unaje ta nariei tono ante ĕuda peen tiri* — that is the reason why I am going to strike (or kill) you. Here the *n*-suffix is attached to the particle *pee* (going to, VI § 6).

*Wakukun pain tie medai nāni ha em wakukun peen tie arani* — who gives instruction is above, but who is going to take instruction is below. The two words to which *-n* is affixed are *pai* (do, make) and *pee*.

*Rusuni raini naakeki ron tie* — when the boat was ready (106. 39—40). In this sentence *ro* (see VI § 5) has the *n*-suffix. In the sentence *sorot inaje ma'uro nara* — as soon as this letter had come, the *n*-suffix would be superfluous, the subordination being expressed by *nara* (see VIII § 3).

*Ante maro naleren halini* — I am a man who has no mother or sister (or: who has no sisters) (91. 32—33). The *n*-suffix is attached to *hali* — there is not, is wanting.

*Teteher was lapai hen aunie* — a hill that was not very high (*he* means not).

*Lukun itoone hen* — whose language was different (133. 36).

*Wo anta leulen* (or: *wojen*) — the song that I sing (*leule*, *woje* — sing).

*Hele nūnu apte le maran te* — the friend to whose house we went just now (*mara* — go).

*Teher teher to apte ulula asin tie* — the mountains whose tops we see (*asi* — see).

*Ikarhu lēn iaa houten* — the kerbau that had descended from the sky (*houte* — descend) (108. 30—31).

*Ēhele adar oonen kopete kapeten* — your friend who is quite black like a witch (*oone* — like; *kopete kapete* — quite black) (111. 7).

*Uha eme doro loor pain tie saile* — when the sugar-cane that was used as spears and swords was gone (*eme pai* — use as) (131. 40).

*Nawan aitoto eme uaraha pain tie saile* — when the ketupat's that were used as slingstones were gone (131. 41—42).

*Tian karhou uru me jaitapul pain aun* — a staff whose head was made of kerbau-horn (136. 14—15).

*Andoro ta ante eme ĕinan tiri* — my spear that I gave to you (*ina* —



give; here *ta* and the *n*-suffix are used in the same sentence). This may also be expressed by: *ante ēinan tie andoro*.

*Ueneren* — who followed him (73.4); *odotualen* — what had been acquired (78.12); *asinana* — what she had acquired (88.4); *nāninie* — while he stayed (*nāni-n-ie*) (104.4).

c. The *n*-form is in many cases equivalent to our construction of preposition + infinitive. For example: *Ante naajen anaje, anisa naajen narutu* — I like to (want to) swim; *ate naajen naware (na)* — are you able to swim? *Inte inamiren narutu* — we like to sit here; *inte inamiren araene* — we do not want (are not willing) to sit here. *Inaa anihēte ti me ina to aatajane* — this my sleeping-mat is given to sleep on (111.10–11). Other particles that are used to introduce the subordinate clause are treated in VIII § 2.

## VIII PARTICLES

Under this heading we shall treat a number of words corresponding functionally to prepositions, conjunctions and certain types of adverbs in Indoeuropean languages. The distinction of these three categories is more or less artificial even in Indoeuropean and it is to a large extent senseless in Indonesian languages. The particles under consideration may, however, be roughly divided into two categories, viz. those expressing objective relations (space, time) and those expressing subjective relations (purpose, doubt, emphasis, conditionality, opposition, contradiction, concession etc.). Some apparently colourless coordinate conjunctions are also arranged in this category, because the present writer is not sufficiently conversant with the Oirata idiom to be able to decide in each separate case whether or not the subjective (affective) element is entirely lacking.

### § 1. *Particles expressing relations of space and time.*

a. A number of these particles have already been mentioned as prefixes in verbal compounds. As independent words they function as postpositions or adverbs of place and, occasionally, time. They are mainly the following.

*Aa* — in, on, at; e.g. *loraa* — on the sea, at sea (73.13).

*Ara, araa, ara'i* — under, below; e.g. *momor ara* — underneath the village (111.41); *anut araa taja* — I (shall) sleep below (123.6); *ara'i nāni* — is (are) below.

*Ia, iaa, ia'i* — on top of, on it, down from; e.g. *iaa māla ... me etere* — lay loincloths ... on it (72.29–31); *tua iaa leule* — up in the lontar-palms (down from the lontar-palms) sang (126.41).

*Inaa* — here, now; e.g. *inaa nami leren tie itaahure* — here brother and sister married (75.2); *inaa Uruwadu tie iaripare* — here the Creator rose up (74.24).

*Ita'a* — near, near by, towards, from; e.g. *narunu ti itaa* — near the hole (88.2); *Lewenmali Asamali itaa inumsaure inumarie* — wept and

wailed to (before, in the presence of) L. and A. (120.19); *ilas lapan nair lapan ti itaa malhemara* — went away from their belongings and rites (108.37); *anita'a* — to (towards) me, from me.

**Malua'a** — outside; e.g. *un me momor ... maluaa laje* — one was slaughtered outside the village (133.4—5); also: *mala'i*.

**Medai** — up, on high, above, before (earlier); e.g. *lên lapai ... medai mara* — the large sky went up (94.21—22); *medai naa Naha ali araume* — on high (or: from above) the Creator further gave the order (72.23); *nūnu meda'i naa enenara* — it has been mentioned above just now (134.39—40).

**Muda'a, mudua'a** — inside, within, into, from within, in the meantime; e.g. *kalkali mesi mudua'a* — (they) planted rice in them (114.6—7); *Kourara muda'a* — in Kourara (75.9); *Karna muda'a* — in (or: from) the South (76.20); *iapele ti muda'a* — from (from within) the soles (71.33); *imuda'a una'a adahokon pai* — while he was keeping watch there (83.34); *imuda'a adar ihihilana* — in the meantime (really) they are flying witches, whereas they are flying witches (120.15); *mudua'a nami noonoo tie lukun me mudhai* — in the meantime the youngest brother gave her this advice (86.16—17).

**Na'a** — in, on, at, from, during; e.g. *Palkahi na'a* — in Palkahi, at Palkahi (75.39); *wadu aun na'a* — on a certain day, once upon a time (88.1); *Tatilu odona'a ma'u* — T. came from the field (72.6); *uru eje'en na'a unāni* — stayed there for two months (81.29—30).

**Odota'a** — just opposite, just overhead, just underneath; e.g. *mata odota'a* — opposite the harbour (109.5—6); *asa ... odota'a unamire* — the bird was sitting opposite (them) (117.10—11); *asa ... Lelisulai Watasulai odota'a itate* — the bird flapped its wings just above L. W. (117.1—3); *ha nami je odota'a taja* — the brothers were sleeping straight underneath (85.38—39).

**Punua'a** — together; e.g. *punua'a tajan hēte najaurua* — sleeping together (on one) sleeping-mat and pillow (111.12—13).

**Ua'a** — under, underneath; e.g. *ete ara lapai aun ua'a* — under a big tree (100.37).

**Una'a** — there; e.g. *una'a rusunu raini naakekin nāni* — there was a fully-equipped canoe (73.12).

**Ura'a, ura'i** — afterwards; e.g. *ura'a nami noonoo te ikarara tnere* — afterwards the younger brother followed his elder brothers (86.27).

**Uta'a, utua'a** — in front of, before; e.g. *panu uta'a uma nakun me mede-nami* — took up some earth before their face (125.31—32); *panu utua'a urahai* — opened it before their face (104.31—32); *uma oowaja ... timur-warat utua'a mara-mara pee* — the lord of the land was going to rule over the east-west village (lit. was going to go always in front of the east-west village) (136.20—22).

b. Compound particles with prefixed or suffixed *i* are undoubtedly to be regarded as possessive constructions. Such are e.g. *meda'i* — above,

on high; *ura'i* — afterwards; *imuda'a* — in the meantime, while (cp. Malay constructions as *diatasnja*, *dibelakangnja*, *didalamnja* etc.).

c. Another type of compound particles is represented by *inana'a* — whence, from here; *unana'a* — thence; *inamuda'a* — whence; *tina'a* — there, and suchlike. They are quite transparent and require no explanation.

d. A particularly interesting category is formed by compounds consisting of a verb-stem followed by *le*. This *le* is one of the most difficult particles in Oirata. It has a number of functions some of which are hard to determine with some degree of exactness. Some of the compounds in question may be dissolved into a verb followed by *le* in the sense of "and, that, so that"; but in other cases the verb-stem has a special meaning when *le* is suffixed so that the compound cannot be replaced by a verbal construction. The most common compounds of this kind are the following.

**Ahurele** — with, together with (*ahure* — together, be together, marry). Examples: *ilerene ahurele ... tai muduni inaje* — with his sister he jumped into the sea (74.29—30); *anutu atan ... pitu ahurele hinan maluara mara* — with the seven slaves I go to the sirih-trees of our birth-place (73.6—8); *Lewenmali Asamali ahurele hele pai kula pai* — they made friends with L. and A. (78.16—17); *kakara ahurele medai mara* — went up with the elder brothers (94.21—22). The person to whom *ahurele* refers is, of course, known, but is not always mentioned, e.g. *to ahurele Wa'uware mara* — to go together with (her) to W. (86.15—16); *ahurele le mara* — went together with (him) to the village (89.43); *No'ihidai ... paki tinai ahurele houte* — N. descended with those clothes (88.41—42). Instead of *ahurele* may also be used **ahur(e)**, e.g. *Wurkeliau Lolkeliau ... Lewenmali Asamali ... ahur hele kula pai* — W. and L. made friends with L. and A. (81.4—6); *marale ahur ma'u* — go and come with (him) (91.9).

**Iliarele** — back (*iliare* — return, change; *iliare le* — be transformed into). Examples: *ante iliarele ma'u* — I come back (80.20—21); *iliarele mara* — went back (80.39); *tetu iliarele ma'u Iliwali Laitani nahema'u* — then returned to I. L. (118.4—5).

**Asile** — to, towards (especially in connection with speak, relate; there are two verbs *asi*, meaning "to see" and "to obtain" respectively). Examples: *ēasile inane* — what did he say to you (106.29); *iha asile noun nakunu ti ne nara* — when he told this instruction to his father (75.30—31); *ikarara asile koto* — he told his elder brothers (89.20); *itaasile ine* — they said to each other (105.43); *Wurkeliau Lolkeliau ihelera asile ne* — W. and L. said to their friends (81.14—15).

e. In a similar way other verbal constructions with *le* may be used as particles expressing relations of space or time. Thus **eme le** often expresses "with" or "therewith" ("at the same time"); e.g. *tulawara me le houte* — descended (from their boat) with ballast-stones, fetched ballast-stones (78.4); *ikapal me le ma'u* — came with his ship (78.36); *ante eme le odo mara* — I shall go to the field with it, I shall take it along to the field

(87.25); *tapu pitueen ti me le sohu* — prayed with the seven grains (while throwing down the seven grains, she prayed) (88.5).

*Nere le* — after, along (lit. follow and, follow in order to); e.g. *saile ... ikarara nere le le mara* — after that he went after his elder brothers to the village (86.35—36); *nere le jamui* — ascended along it (a rotan) (88.13); *wat lapai ... nere le ma'u* — came by (along) the great road (89.8).

## § 2. *Particles expressing subjective relations.*

These particles and their main significations are of course mentioned in the vocabulary; but since no references and examples are given there, the following commentary on their grammatical functions and shades of meaning will not be superfluous.

**Aiti(e).** There are two particles *aiti*, one meaning “still at present, until now” and the other “perhaps, probably”, the former being usually supplemented by (*t*)*iri*, whereas the latter may be followed by *so* or *roro*. Examples: *Aiti inaa wadu tirio inte ina'i naire hewete* — this very day we still observe this custom (135.6—7). *Aiti so maumau lapur mudusaware* — perhaps the cat has defecated between the fire-stones (86.2). *Aiti roro ate apilerene manatu kadane* — perhaps (probably) you are keeping our sister hidden (91.38—39).

**Ara, ara ... nara, ara ... peenara** — but if. For example: *Anmomor tinai oone nara so aputu ināni, ara uhe atu malhemara* — if (your village) is on a level with my village, we shall stay here together, but if not, you must go away (98.15—17). *Ara taahe nara* — if (this rule) was not respected (134.24). *Ara ante ratu pain peenara* — if I am of divine origin (89.30—31).

**Ede** — also, likewise. More emphatical is *ede ioone*. For example: *Anhaje ma'u to apu mara le ede sisinasi* — father (should) come, that we may go together and he may also see it (110.7—8). *Noonoo je iseri idari mete, kakaje ede ioone* — the youngest brother took his followers with him, the elder brothers did likewise (92.33—34).

In interrogative sentences it is also used as a dubitative particle with the meaning of Holl. “*ook, soms ook*”, German “*etwa*”, e.g. *inaa maro ede sorot pain naware?* — is there anybody here who is able to write?

**Ethaini, ethaini ... nara, ethaini ... peenara** — if, if perhaps. For example: *Ethaini ate apilerene manatu* — if you are keeping our sister hidden (91.40—41). *Ethaini inaje ina'ununan nara ante eme le odo mara* — if this perhaps is something eatable, I shall take it along to the field (87.24—25). *Ethaini anmodo tie ratupain peenara* — if my child is a divine being (88.6—7). *Ethain ... ahi me nara itaan jajani nawa* — if they have good fish, they may eat it themselves (120.5—6).

**Etu** — then (with a weak suggestion of an expected result or effect: “so, as might have been expected, naturally”). For example: *Inaa wadu ti naa tono Kaskui ratu etu ikarara tuhurai ahure* — on that day the noble Kaskui, as was only natural, married his elder brothers' wives (94.24—26). *Inaa*

*lodon ti utrepele tono ihi saike auoro uma eterene ajarene naa tono lause, inaa etu uhe* — the rotan was cut in two so that it threw about its fruit on the surrounding islands and multiplied there, but, naturally, not here (94.28—31).

**Ha.** The primary sense of this particle is probably: but only. Its main shades of meaning are: but, only, just (adhortative), while, whereas. *Jani ha* — please (introducing a request). *Ha etu* — so now only, so now at last, so just, but just. Examples: *Ha inut le mara* — but we go home, whereas we go home (86.26). *Ha onhali ira walaje* — but he had not yet paid the marriage-gift (99.37—38). *Ha haise le ma'u to ma tutu pa* — so you had better (so just) draw water and bring it that he may drink (110.32—33). *Jāni ha ate annakatun mete le mara annaha ina* — please, take something along with you for me and give it to my family (104.21—22). *Jāni ha aptono mara* — please let us go (together), please, let me go with you (105.11). *Ha etu mara le itua hala pai* — so now at last you may go to look after your sageru (palm-wine) and to work in the garden (85.14). *Atoho irim ala titiele ha etu ira wee tai wee nerele mara* — do not travel through the bush, but just follow the sea-shore (119.5—7). *Weiweijee ha wowoje* — while paddling, they sang (79.4). *Taja-taja ha leule le hari deru* — while he was lying down there, he called the wind, singing (100.40).

**Hanaha** — perhaps? (interrogative-dubitative particle at the end of a sentence, cp. *naha*), e.g. *ite aneti tartara mete hanaha* — did you perhaps take my chisel and adze along with you? (86.29—30).

**Hatu** — yet, nevertheless (cp. also *tu*), e.g. *iha ... hatu al kasarua to Usara Wesara al jamoi* — his father, nevertheless, again ordered U.W. to ascend (75.30—32).

**Inara** — in that case, so, for that reason; in the same sense is also used *inara tono*. *Inara inahai* — why then, what is the reason (cause) that. Examples: *Inar mara le ikarara wouwou amu uste* — so he went to his elder brothers and asked them for another blow-gun arrow (89.11—12). *Inar tono mara le ahur ma'u le muduhema'u* — so she went and brought him into the house (91.10). *Inara inahai tono atono sauren tiri* — why then are you weeping continually? (91.2—3).

**Iri, iri etu, iri tetu, iri tono** have about the same meaning, viz. so, then, so then. *Iriha, irio* may usually be translated with "but then, then however". Examples: *Iri Irara je ine* — then the Irara people said (131.12). *Iri etu itamanjoore* — so then they embraced each other (129.38—39). *Iri tuhurai tetu mara ahamu nara* — so then the wife went and when she pulled at the spear ... (113.31). *Iri tono Deliaman Pajaman ine: tahi tahi ite uma oowara* — so then D. and P. said; truly, you are the lords of the land (98.1—3). *Iri ha Wurkeliau Lolkeliau ihelera asile ne* — W. L., however, then told their friends (81.14—15). *Irio Liuleli Dailoro ratu tie tatanluku* — the nobles from L. D., however, then answered (122.19—20).

**Le.** In many constructions this particle may be translated with "and" e.g. in compounds like *ahurele, asile* and in other cases when, together with

a preceding verb, it functions as a particle of space (cp. VIII § 1). There are also cases, however, in which its function is apparently different, and it is especially these constructions that are not always easy to analyse. Some examples: *Maro laulausana ratu ejeene, tuhur auni nami auni nēneta le Tātilu Laltilu* — two human beings, one girl and one boy, named Tātilu and Laltilu (71. 28—30). Here *le* seems to function as a copula, but it might also be set down for a postpositive “and”. *Ijoohai le lāna utu neru* — thus she acted three times successively (83. 27). This is a similar case; we may translate: and she acted thus etc. or: thus it was etc. *Mara Loronwisi iro nara dele ara uani le unanate koho pitueeni* — when he reached Loronwisi (cape Mahen), there was standing a maize-plant with seven cobs (87. 5—7). *Wadu-wadu nanuha le nami te mara titti asakila anaje* — every day the man went to collect crickets and grasshoppers (87. 29—31). In this and in the preceding sentence *le* seems to be functioning as a postpositive particle with the meaning of in, at, on. *Ratu eenapu mede saile matu nelu pai le etai tono itaaltatane pee* — when the two had eaten together, they arranged to meet again after two days (83. 35—37). The construction of this sentence is perfectly clear, if *le* means “to” in the sense of “in order to”. Malayakan. Another sentence with apparently the same construction: *ante ... uste le mara uma sere aunu todo* — I request to (be allowed to) tug some other island along (106. 17—19).

**Ma.** The root-sense of this particle remains dubious. Its commonest meanings are mentioned in the vocabulary; however, the English equivalents given there are rather too strong. Usually one gets the impression that *ma* is becoming a mere expletive. It does not seem necessary to cite examples from the text. Another function is illustrated by the two following sentences. *Nisaun toho ma wari ha* — nothing whatever is to be heard. *Ma iisamudunin pai* — he does whatever he likes to (lit. whatever is in his heart he does). Here it seems to have a generalizing function (cp. IV § 3).

**Matu** (a compound of *ma* and *tu*, see below). This particle may usually be translated with “then”, its exact shade of meaning varying as has been indicated in the vocabulary.

**Na.** An interrogative and dubitative particle at the end of a sentence; when not put at the end of the sentence it also usually expresses doubt or possibility. It may occasionally be translated with “or, also, and”. Some examples: *Īte inoohai na* — how do you act? (81. 14). *Inahai to ēta ratu ina'i ... eme haikodo muduume na* — how could you put this man of noble blood into a pigsty! (91. 7—8). *Ate inamara pee na* — where are you going? (104. 18—19). *Ira te mahune na* — this water seems to be bad (is probably bad) (121. 29). *Ēratu lause na uhe* — do your people thrive or not? (106. 14—15). *Ha sunu na rau me nara* — but when they catch *sunu* or *rau* (two kinds of fish) (120. 6—7). *To ratu lause marana lause hihi na karhou wo lause* — that human beings and also cattle (lit. sheep and kerbau) might thrive (94. 32—34).



**Nae** — or, or perhaps, interrogative and dubitative particle at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. *Nae momora aalamana ta ēasile lukun mahunana isa ne naha* — or have the people of the village been saying something bad to you? (90.43—91.1).

**Naha** — but; *naha matu* — but then, however; *nahana* — perhaps, perhaps however (at the end of a sentence). *Naha* is also used at the end of a dubitative interrogation. Examples: *Ikarara me umar kasaru naha karara je iar nahamai* — he told his elder brothers to go in front, but the elder brothers did not know the way (92.37—38). *Lerelaita houte le mumse naha matu tawaretlene* — L. dove into the water but then he was changed into stone (74.19—21). *Aiti roro ate apilerene manatu kadane nahana* — perhaps, however, you are keeping our sister hidden (91.38—39). *Eirimi haini ta ēasile nisaun ne naha* — perhaps your parents-in-law have been saying anything to you? (90.41—42).

**Nahara so, nahara ... pee** — henceforth however, but henceforth. Examples: *nahara so apte ... itanania pee* — henceforth, however, we are to intermarry (101.28—29). *Iliu kasunu paini tono nahara anutu ina panu mule pae* (= *pee*) — owing to (the settling of) your debt you will, however, not see my face any more (lit. I shall disappear face and all) (116.23—24).

**Nana.** This particle expresses uncertainty, possibility, slight probability, weak and hesitating intention. Examples: *Inte itanakēre lata he, iro nana so ura'i naa oone* — we do not intermarry, but it may be possible in the future (101.40—102.1). *Nana unaa lunte miatene pee* — they felt like settling down there (114.22—23).

**Nara.** The various meanings of this particle can be best explained by referring to the various functions of a colon. It often connects a preceding subordinate sentence with the principal sentence, expressing, as the case may be: if, when, although, then, so, but. When the preceding sentence is taken as the principal one, the function of *nara* changes accordingly. Examples: *Apna-Apha paito titlene hatate nara, dula ritlene dula hatate he* — although our Creator made our land dry, it is not quite dry; or: our Creator made our land dry, but it is not quite dry (75.21—23). *Ada te laire nara lapuru te ira'u* — when the fire flamed up, the stones fell to pieces; or: the fire flamed up, but the stones fell to pieces (78.2—3). *Loronwisi iro nara nisaun asi he* — when they reached Loronwisi, they did not see anything; or: they reached L. but did not see anything (80.15—16). *To ma'u le epu nara ha nami* — so she came and recognized that it was her brother; or: so when she came and recognized (him), it was her brother (89.40—41). *Iro ene nara uhe* — but she answered that it was not so (90.42). *Ate uma oowara nara āna annēne naraume* — if you are the lord of the land, just mention our name (97.33—34). *Ante mara nara Apna-Apha noun nakun me anina nie* — when I went, our Creator gave me this instruction; or: I went, then our Creator etc. (106.30—31). *Ante wari nara Lewenmali Asamali Resresi Jalrasi naa* — I heard that L. A. are in R. J. (117.39—41). In some



cases *nara* appears to have a different function, while its position in the sentence is also different. In these cases it is most probably an abbreviated form of *inara* (see above) with the meaning of: in that case, in the circumstances, therefore. Examples: *Matu hinani nara ma'u, ina ihai nara ma'u* — then, therefore, they went to their native land, to their mother and father therefore they went (81. 41—42). *Nara ate mara pee nara uma lauare apileren ahure* — in that case, if you will go, together with our sister (119. 4—5). *To walale apu ihinani patui nara mara* — so therefore we had better go quickly to our native land (130. 4—5). Probably this is also the explanation of *nara* in the interjectional expression *nara e*, e.g. *ue tono aninamirai nara e* — may he become my husband! (82. 39—40).

**On(o)** — still, e.g. *Ha tinai je oo ono lukluku* — their father's mouth was still speaking (80. 7). *Iro on doldoli* — but it was still too little (85. 9). *Le ono ialetana nani* — and they were still on their way (105. 4). Also: *no* (70. 8; 134. 34).

**O, jo** (after words ending in *i* or *au*), *no* (after *i*), *wo* (after words ending in *u*) — also, but, yet. Examples: *Kakara ileren ti uare o unarapale he* — the elder brothers stabbed their sister but she did not fall down (86. 22—23). *Wata o pai to sulmata* — she also made her hair gleaming (93. 42). *Nami kaka ... larmamata ti deru wo ma'u he* — the eldest brother called the rainbow, but he did not come (83. 42—84. 2). *Uranasi pannasi jo uhe* — he looked around but there was nothing (75. 41). *Wilaumali Reilaumali ... Jotowa Lakeru nahema'u jo hinan patu mamuka* — W. R. went to Jotowa, but there were no people in their native country (120. 45—121. 3). We have also met with *o* as a generalizing particle used as a form of indefinite pronouns (see IV § 3).

**Oo** — with (prepositive), e.g. *Kakara nami nemapu tie oo lerene ratu eenapu* — the six elder brothers with two sisters (76. 18—19).

**Pa.** A particle expressing doubt; sometimes it is interrogative and it is also used as an adhortative particle (cp. also VI § 4). Examples: *Anta inamudaa meden leura jajani asi pa* — whence should I get good food (19. 35—36). *To inoohai pa* — so what were they to do? (119. 16—17). *Itono lor nasi pa* — just look at the sea (124. 37—38).

**Pana.** A dubitative and interrogative particle at the end of a sentence; more emphatical: *pana o*; when followed by *inahai* the meaning is: why else, or what else, what else could be the cause. Examples: *Apte inoohai tono aptono Jotowa mara le ilerene ahurele ma'u pana* — what shall we do to fetch our sister from Jotowa and bring her here! (106. 4—6). *To so antono eme inoohai pana o* — so what in the world am I to do now! (108. 38—39). *To aiti so umajaele uste pana inahai* — so perhaps they ask for land or why else (do they behave like this)? (125. 29—30).

**Panaha** — so, so now, but then, yet, nevertheless. Examples: *Ante al luku wisare, panha awarwarere* — I shall also give my pronouncement, so you must listen (71. 2—3). *Roro umajaele ali kepte tarate to apte unu panaha* — will the earth perhaps be flooded again, so that we perish yet

(or: nevertheless)? (75. 33—34). *To aputu peimu le ina asi iha asi panaha Umana Serna inaa wauwauni ro* — so we return to visit our parents, but Timor is already quite near (71. 33—35).

**So.** Besides being used as a particle of the future, so is often expressive of doubt, uncertainty as to something that is happening (but is not understood) or that is (perhaps or certainly) going to happen. Examples: *ēnalerene te so manatun isa pai* — your sister is perhaps hiding something (83. 2—3). *Ēha inahai to so ma'u he* — why does your father not come (or: why is not he going to come)? (114. 33). About so as particle of the future see above, VI § 6.

**Tetu** = *etu*; perhaps *tetu* is a little more emphatical, especially with regard to its suggestion of cause, reason or expected result, but for the rest there is not the slightest difference of function between the two particles.

**Tinara** — so, therefore, henceforth. Examples: *Noonoora ... unnaa lunte miatene ro jawani tinar ika ederemu* — the younger brothers had settled there and prospered, so they remembered their elder brothers (132. 2—4). *Tinara tulalu iro nara punrane* — henceforth on festive days they assembled (94. 2—3).

**Tiri** — about its pronominal functions see above, IV § 1. Further it is used to express "thus, likewise", usually with suffixed *o*: *tirio*. Examples: *Inara inahai tono atono sauren tiri* — why, then, do you weep continually in this way? (91. 2—3). *Doro ti me ete taran iaa aatme arahane loor tirio eme ioohai* — he put his spear among the branches with its head pointing downward and his sword likewise (100. 38—39).

**To** — so, so that, to; also used to indicate the patiens when the predicate precedes (cp. Malay *akan*). Examples: *Apna-Apha ie luku ene to lēn lapai oo umajaele itanamese* — the Creator ordered the large sky and the earth to cohabit (71. 22—23). *Jejenī to matu sesele to isarun ahamu ratu tuhur naliare* — he was alone, so he did not like it, so he pulled out a rib and transformed it into a woman (or: so he prayed that he might pull out a rib and transform it into a woman) (71. 24—26). *Ilerene Laltilu asile ne to nadiaka* — he ordered his sister L. to keep watch over it (72. 3—4). *To matu kuar seile pee naha kuar tie maina* — so they tried to pull up the anchor, but the anchor stuck (74. 18—19). *Tuhur tinai ulawara weltaru omose to tuhur lau ejeene* — as clothing for the woman they prepared two sarung (88. 38—40).

**Toho** — a generalizing and emphasizing particle. Its use in the prohibitive mood has been treated in VI § 4. Some examples of its other functions follow here: *Eme Laiwahana mani uturepele ha ūnu toho odotrēle he* — he cut off L's head but neither of them noticed it (95. 15—16). *Antoho uma aun sere aun naa ma'u he* — not I have come from another island (97. 27—28). *Uranasi pannasi nisaun toho kuran he* — he looked about but nothing whatever was missing (108. 34—35).

**Tono** — expresses some emphasis and, slightly, the idea of intention, expectation or desirability. Examples: *Ītoho aninamirai litataru utseile*,

*antono iasi mara eme* — not you shall cut the string of my husband's sirih-bag, I myself shall fetch it (113.14—15). *Inutu umare le le pee naha uraa atono ... aninere* — we shall go to the village first, but afterwards you shall follow me (122.41—43). *Ante ma'u le ene tono aptono mara sura waaru* — I shall come back to tell you (about it) and then we shall visit (may visit) her together (92.1—2). *Tartei aptono mara apleren iro sura le ahure ma'u* — when shall we go to our sister and take her home? (104.40—41). About *tono* and the subordinate clause cp. VII.

**Tu** — altogether, quite. Examples: *Iro kakara tu tawa nahure* — but the elder brothers together quite rushed at him (91.36—37). *Uma tu malnare etu noonoo kaka Lilitere najamoi* — when it was fully daylight, the brothers went inland from the coast of Lilit (129.3—4). Not infrequently *tu* is to be translated as a pronoun (all, all of them), although its function is really adverbial.

## IX SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF STYLE

### § 1. *Tautology*.

a. There is a strong predilection for repetition and the use of synonyms. This is especially true of the solemn style of myth, but also the common every-day language is rich in tautological expressions. We shall first give some examples of repetition without tautology.

*Hua tahule malu tahule* — buy pinang and sirih (77.2). *Huaara soli maluara soli* — the land of pinang- and sirih-trees (73.21—22). *Odomua lawanmua* — an ivory- and gold-land (77.40). *Ilita salnen pai ileu waiten pai* — make them carry their sirih-bag at their arms and their loads on their backs (72.20—21). *Hari deru tai deru* — call the wind and the sea (79.26). The following examples illustrate tautology without repetition.

b. *Lumte miatene* — settle down for good (73.27 and passim). *Arusu hari upumu aama* — strong (favourable) wind (74.17 and passim). *Rusun(u) rain(i)* — native boat, canoe (73.28 and passim). *Halse hakane* — stay in the harbour (74.15 and passim). *Soli hirari* — stay (live) somewhere (75.3—4 and passim). *Wereweret(e) taitair(i)* — pair of scales (101.32). *Ilas(a) nair(i)* — morals and manners, religious rites, character (passim). *Ritlene hatate* — dry (of land that has been flooded) (25.26—27 and passim). *Ina panu* — face (80.40 and passim). *Kēre lata pai* — marry (99.15 and passim). *Wirte nāwa* — ashamed (passim). Most frequent, however, is the combination of tautology with repetition, which is illustrated by the following examples.

c. *Hinan maluara patu maluara* — the sirih-trees of (our) birth-place (73.17). *Annasohole annalare* — visit me (73.22—23). *Emtua emtapa* — batter, be battered (74.18). *Modowain(i) rat(a) wain(i)* — children, grandchildren, offspring, creatures (75.23—24 and passim). *Kajar(a) naahe na'umun(u) naahe* — intolerably tired, exhausted (77.42). *Ira timini ira ra (= ar) pai* — heaten water (78.1—2). *Hele pai kula pai* — make

friends (78. 17). *Ratu wa'i maranwa'i, ratu lause maran lause, ihar na lause hai na lause* — human beings and animals (lit. dogs and pigs) prosper and multiply (82. 9—11). *Lukun me ina wisar me ina umunlukun me ina umunsohon me ina* — bestow the boon of speech (101. 15—17). *Dedem ulu wanat ulu* — in the dead of night (107. 6—7). *Ihorok pai ijau pai, iratu loro imaran loro* — the people performed their rites (133. 1—3). *Kohil pitu dolon pitu* — seven stories (or layers) (71. 33—34). *Ira lapai tai lapai* — the great waters (71. 34—35). *Asa tapa tapa olo tapa tapa* — shoot birds (73. 7—8). *Tutenāni sakanāni* — be lying propped up (of a ship on the beach) (76. 3—4). *Ina oonhai panu oonhai* — transform (78. 20). *Ada'uale adalare* — go to meet (81. 5). *Utkodo uthohone* — concealed, shut up (85. 35). *Aanuta aapere* — take care of, feed (87. 2). *Ia lapai wat lapai* — the great road (89. 3—4). *Aderu asura amire anate, nasura naderu amire anate* — invite to stay there (93. 23, 26). *Hiahara mariada lause pane* — take care of, regale (93. 31—32). *Itaan hante itaan ile* — tied up their property (cattle) (99. 27—28). *Hira taru halai taru* — metal wire (107. 7).

## § 2. Concentric construction.

There is a certain tendency towards incorporation of sentences. By this I mean that the construction of two principal sentences connected by the particle *le* (as is usual) or of a principal and a subordinate clause e.g. by means of the *n*-suffix (cp. VII) is sometimes avoided by incorporating the second principal or the subordinate clause into the other sentence. For example: *Iwata me ipanu utu sasu, iwata me ipanu ese sasu* — she loosened her hair and covered her face with it (89. 42; 95. 32—33). *Iwata sasu* means: she loosened her hair; *ipanu utu*: she covered her face; *me* is auxiliary with both *utu* and *sasu*. *Araen antimin deru na* — he did not want to call me because he was angry with me (100. 13—14); literally: he did not want, was angry with me, call me (lit. mother, female master: she is speaking to her slave). So here *antimin* is incorporated into the principal sentence *araen deru na*.

# XI

## VOCABULARY

(For place and proper names consult separate indices)

Abbreviations:

Amb. Mal.: Ambon Malay.  
G. N.: Grammatical Notes.  
Holl.: Holland, Hollandish.  
Mal.: Malay.

Mal. Jav.: Java Malay (Batavia Malay).  
Port.: Portuguese.  
Sp.: Span.: Spanish.  
Tim. Mal.: Timor Malay.

### A

a 1, ah oh (interjection).  
a 2, you (see G. N. V §§ 1—2, VI §§ 3—4).  
a 3, a'a, at, on in, to, for etc.; verbal prefix and independent particle (see G. N. I § 4, VIII § 1).  
a'ahahale, see pale.  
a'ahai, cook, prepare food.  
a'ahē, moving over, above, through; also *ahahe*.  
a'aje, sour; *was aaje*, acrid.  
a'aklare, see *uma*.  
a'akmire, see *uma*.  
a'alamana, contents; *aalamana he-tele*, plentiful harvest.  
a'alamene, throw into, fill.  
a'alare, see *lare*.  
a'alua, see *lua*.  
a'aluku, see *luku*.  
a'am(a), wind, viz. in the current expression: *upum(u) aam(a) arus(u) hari*, favourable wind.  
a'ame, ame, simpleton, dunce.  
a'amese, open one's mouth.  
a'amire, see *mire*.  
a'amore, see *more*.  
a'ana'e, see *na'e*.  
a'anahamu, see *ahamu*.

a'anahu, end, top, point.  
a'anasi, see *asi* 2.  
a'anate, see *nate*.  
a'aninawali, *aninawali*, neglect, keep not in repair; see also *naninawali*.  
a'anuta, see *uta*.  
a'apere, take care of, feed.  
a'arau, see *rau*, *ina* 4.  
a'aruan, see *rua*.  
a'aruka, see *ruka*.  
a'arune, answer; *aarunen*, answering, what is answered; *aarunen pai*, give answer.  
a'at(a), sharp point; *aate*, pointed, sharp; *paito aate*, sharpen.  
a'ataja, see *taja*.  
a'ate 1, see *aat(a)*.  
a'ate 2, full, stopped up, stuffed; *pai (to) aate*, fill, stuff.  
a'ate 3, emphatic form of *ate*.  
a'atina, strong, stiff.  
a'awak(i)le, see *wak(i)le*.  
a'awolen, see *wo*.  
ada 1, wait.  
ada 2, fire; *ada pipin*, spark.  
ada 3, wood; see also *s. ira* 1.  
ada'a, how, why.  
adadahai, mock, ridicule.

- adahalate**, be patient, patience; see also **halate**.  
**adahale**, see **pale**.  
**adahoko**, keep watch over, search through, spy upon; *adahokon*, watching, custody, spying; *adahokon pain*, watcher, guard, spy; see also s. **asa**.  
**adakirikiri**, mushroom.  
**adalare**, see **lare**.  
**adaluku**, see **luku**.  
**adamire**, see **mire**.  
**adanate**, see **nate**.  
**adane**, allow, comply with, be willing or going to, avow, admit, assure; *adanen*, being willing to, who is willing to etc.; *anadane*, allow, accept.  
**adar**, witch, wizard (Amb. Mal. *suangi*); *adarai*, witchery; *adar iar nere*, lose (having lost) one's way entirely (lit. follow *suangi*-road).  
**adarau**, see **rau**.  
**adaruale**, **adarwale**, see **ruale**.  
**adasaka**, see **saka** 1.  
**ada'u**, grow less, decrease; *pai to ada'u*, cause to decrease, lessen.  
**ada'uale**, see **uale**.  
**adawa'in**, see **wa'i**.  
**adawajamai**, see **wajamai**.  
**aderu**, see **deru**.  
**adkeile**, see **keile**.  
**adoure**, see **doure**.  
**adur(u)**, a marsupial; Phalanger orientalis, Mal. *kuskus*.  
**ah**, a tuberous plant: *Coleus tuberosus*, Mal. *kembili*.  
**aha**, capable of, having opportunity to, strong.  
**ahahara**, capable of, able to, understanding, hope; *ahahara he*, unable to, astonished, without hope.  
**ahahe**, see **aahe**.  
**ahahu**, a crab: *Neptunus pelagicus*, Mal. Jav. *kepiting*.  
**ahai**, not afraid; **ahaihai**, audacious, bold.  
**ahajejete**, beat about the bush; make a slip of the tongue.  
**ahakane**, see **hakane**.  
**ahakasa**, big ceremonial drum.  
**ahale**, see **pale**.  
**ahalne**, deny; cp. **ne**.  
**ahalse**, see **halse**.  
**ahamire**, see **mire**.  
**ahamu**, pull, pull out; plur. *ahare* (see G.N. V § 2); *aanahamu*, drawn (of a sword).  
**ahanalteri**, see **nalteri**.  
**ahanara**, sky-tree (synonym of *lən-ara*).  
**ahanasin**, see **asi** 2.  
**ahanawarai**, see **naware**.  
**ahanepu**, see **epu**.  
**ahara'ahe**, see **ta'a**.  
**ahararane**, longing.  
**ahare**, see **ahamu**.  
**aharielen**, see s. **hinan(a)**.  
**ahasomone**, see **somone**.  
**ahasuisuile**, see **suile**.  
**ahata**, stool (of a plant); *ahatāni*, to stool, have a stool; cp. *āni*.  
**ahaterse**, ?  
**aha'uare**, see **uare**.  
**ahere**, see **here**.  
**ahi**, fish; *ahi atarana*, salt-fish (lit. fish that has been cut up); *ahi asirana*, salt-fish (fish that has been salted); *ahi inamodo*, wart (lit. fish-eye); *ahi titlana*, dried fish; *ahi ududan*, angler (lit. he who kills fish); *ahi ta'u*, ink-fish.  
**ahiana**, rob, plunder; *ahianan*, booty; also: robbing, who robs.  
**ahire**, see **hire**.  
**ahise**, spread (of odours).  
**ahoroke**, see **horok**.  
**ahuite**, drag, trail.  
**ahure**, with, together, together with, in addition to, further;

- join, marry; *ahurana*, enlargement, addition, adjunction; *ahurana pai*, increase, enlarge, add; *itaahure*, marry (each other); *tawanahure*, rush at (upon) together, jump at (upon) together; see also G. N. I § 4 b, VIII § 1 d.
- ahurluku**, see **luku**.
- ahutrau**, see **hutrau**.
- ai 1**, a kind of nut: *Aleurites moluccana* (Mal. *keminting*).
- ai 2**, tendon, vein, sinew.
- aile**, choose, select, collect, pick up.
- ail(i)**, angling-rod, fish-line; spout of a kettle.
- aimu**, come down (of clothing).
- a'imu**, yawn.
- ain**, matter, pus; **aini**, suppurate.
- airene**, detain, keep, check.
- airete**, tamarind-tree.
- aiti(e) 1**, at present, until now; usually: *aiti(t)iri*; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- aiti(e) 2**, perhaps, probably; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- aitoto**, cube-shaped lump of steamed or cooked rice, millet or maize, packed in a plaited cover (Mal. *ketupat*).
- aiwadu**, torch consisting in a leaf rib with cotton or capoc soaked in oil wound round the end (Amb. Mal. *kandjuli*).
- aiwali**, name of a star that follows the Southern-Cross.
- aja**, rain; *aja anuta*, wet from rain, being rained on; *aja ipipi toro*, drizzling rain; *aja kere*, hurricane with rain (lit. rain ladder); *aja kilate*, the rain is stopping, has stopped; *aja lirliri*, drizzling rain.
- ajaka**, ashes.
- ajala**, see **jala**.
- ajane**, shoot with bow and arrow.
- ajare**, **ajere**, arrange, regulate, order; synonym of **etere**.
- ajaru**, let loose, open.
- ajere 1**, see **ajare**.
- ajere 2**, catch (liquids, e.g. palm-sap).
- ajēte**, see **jēte**.
- akairoko**, see **kairoko**.
- akal(a)**, understanding, cunning, trick, deceive; see also **pudi**.
- akapare**, see **kapare**.
- akaure**, see **kaure**.
- akeile**, see **keile**.
- akesi**, see **kesi**.
- akesle**, be witch; *nakeslana*, sorcerer, witch.
- akirakira**, see **kirakira**.
- āl(a)**, fight, battle, war; *āl aluana*, battle-field; *āl apra*, enemy in war (lit. war-side); *āl nate*, war breaks out, be in war.
- alana**, as if, like.
- alarin(i)**, see **larin**.
- alaruale**, marry (of a woman); *alarualen iar naran narane*, grown-up, marriageable (lit. coming on the marriage-road); cp. **uale**, **rane**.
- alene**, serve up, ladle up (with a spoon).
- al(i) 1**, further, again.
- ali 2**, hit, struck, touched.
- aliare**, see **liare**.
- aliluene**, fling at, throw at.
- ālmaramaran**, army (lit. many people going to battle).
- almari**, cupboard of any kind (Port.).
- alnahai**, next day; cp. **nahai**.
- alten**, fourth, for the fourth time, at last.
- ālu**, fall off (fruit or leaves); *ālun*, falling off, which fall off.
- ālualen**, enemy (lit. who goes to war).
- aluana**, place, spot; any receptacle in which something is kept; *alua-*



- nat* = *aluana tie*, the (that) place etc. It has also more special meanings: sleeping-place, foot-print; *aluana hohon*, curtain, mosquito-net (lit. sleeping-place wall); *aluana namire*, employment, dignity, rank (lit. place one sits in, cp. *mire*).
- aluku**, see *luku*.
- alut**, rice-pounder.
- amahune**, see *mahune*.
- amaka**, meddle with.
- amaramara**, see *mara*.
- amaro**, coire; cp. *maro* (?).
- āme**, see *a'ame*.
- amin**, lice; see also *s. asa*.
- amire**, see *mire*.
- amir(i)**, wing of a bird, fin of a fish; *amir tihale*, flap the wings; cp. *tihale*.
- amisa**, floor, bottom.
- amono**, like, be willing.
- amore 1**, detest, abhor.
- amore 2**, see *more*.
- amseke**, dirty, soiled; turbid (of liquids); dregs; *amseken*, which (who) is dirty etc.
- amsoru**, odour, smell; *amsorun*, smelling, which (who) smells.
- amu**, body; contents, pit (of fruit); arrow of a blowgun; soul, life principle (according to informant = Mal. *njawa*); piece (as a numerical classifier, cp. Mal. *buah*), e.g. *lawan amu utu*, three pieces of gold (*lawan* itself means piece of gold here), cp. G. N. III; *amu he*, not genuine, falsified (lit. no body, no contents).
- amua**, poisonous snake.
- amue**, see *mue*.
- amuli**, try to meet, intend to conclude an alliance with.
- amutu**, see *mutu*.
- an 1** = **a 3** (before vowels).
- an 2**, I, me, my; see G. N. II § 2, V §§ 1—2, § 3.
- āna**, try; you had better ..., please, just ... (adhortative, used in exactly the same way as Mal. *tjoba* in every-day speech).
- ana'aje'e**, see *na'aje*.
- anadane**, see *adane*.
- anaje**, try, try to get, fetch, look for, guess at; *ananae*, continually, always, trying to get; *ananae*, livelihood, means of subsistence; *itaaanae*, coire (lit. seek or try each other).
- ananenen**, see *ne*.
- anansuisuile**, see *suile*.
- anate**, see *nate*.
- ane**, see *ne*.
- anederemu**, see *ederemu*.
- anene**, see *ne*.
- ani**, I, me, my; see G. N. II § 2, V §§ 1—2.
- āni 1**, wanted, necessary, requisite.
- āni 2**, exist, be present; goods, property; possess, own; pregnant (of human beings and animals); *eme āni*, fill.
- aniare**, act badly towards, ill-treat.
- anii**, pierce, perforate.
- āninawali**, see *aaninawali*.
- anire**, see *ire*.
- anisahanate**, see *isa 3*.
- anisamalare**, see *isa 3*.
- anita'a**, towards me, from me; see G. N. VIII § 1.
- an'ka**, my elder brother etc. See *ka*.
- an'kai**, weaving-tool, spindle.
- ano'orhanawe**, see *o'orhanawe*.
- anri**, I; see G. N. V § 1.
- anta**, **ante**, I; see G. N. V § 1, VI § 2; *anta'an*, mine, cp. *ta'an* and G. N. II § 2.
- antoho**, see *toho*.
- antono**, see *tono*.

- anuhule, see uhul.  
 anumanaware, see naware.  
 anunutu, see unutu.  
 anuta, descend on, come down on.  
 anut(u), I; see G. N. V § 1.  
 ap(i), we (incl.), us, our; see G. N. II § 2, V §§ 1—2.  
 apra, one of two sides, half; *apra* *apra*, on either side, mutually; *apranin*, next to, beside; *apra'i*, next to, beside.  
 aprasmata, rijksdaalder (Holl. coin of the value of 2½ guilders), lit. Deli harbour: the rijksdaalders were thought to originate from Deli in Sumatra. At present *apras* means Deli indeed, but probably the original meaning of *aprasmata* was side Sumatra, whereas later on the word was wrongly understood as *apras mata*, harbour of *apras*.  
 apri, we (incl.); see G. N. V § 1.  
 apte, we (incl.); see G. N. V § 1, VI § 2; *apta'an*, ours (incl.); cp. *ta'an* and G. N. II § 2.  
 aptono, see tono.  
 apu 1, snap, snatch at.  
 apu 2 = ap(i).  
 apu 3, together; see also G. N. III.  
 apuai, in common.  
 aput(u) = apte.  
 ar, ra, heat, hot.  
 ara 1, ara ... nara, ara ... peenara, but if; see G. N. VIII § 2.  
 ara 2, light, daylight, gleam, bright; *aran*, glitter, gleam, sparkle; *ara he*, dark, turbid, dim, dull; sour, angry (of the face); *pai ara*, light up, illuminate; *narapa*, set fire to.  
 ara 3, stem, trunk, tree; tail (as a numerical classifier referring to animals, especially cattle); cp. G. N. III; *ara larin(i) lolo*, narration (lit. tree root right); *ara* is also used metaphorically in the sense of origin, cause, e.g. *arata inai*, what is the cause, why; cp. *ta* and *inai*.  
 ara 4, under, underneath, down (verbal prefix, postposition and adverb); also *ara'a* and *ara'i*; see G. N. I § 4, VIII § 1; *ime arara*, feign, simulate (lit. put oneself quite underneath, hide oneself).  
 araene, see ene.  
 arahakane, see hakane.  
 arahale, see pale.  
 arahalse, see halse.  
 arahane, pointing downwards.  
 arahutrau, see hutrau.  
 arakailese, see kailese.  
 arakaure, see kaure.  
 arakono, see kono.  
 arakrake, see rake.  
 aralaku, see laku.  
 aralare, see lare.  
 arälene, throw down; cp. *alene*, *lene*.  
 aralure, see lure.  
 arama, shut with a prop, put on (a headdress).  
 aramain, first, who begins.  
 aran(a), charcoal, blaze, glow.  
 aranahe, retract a promise, back out of, fulfil not.  
 aranajau(e)le, see najau(e)le.  
 araname, see name.  
 aranani, keep watch over.  
 aranasi, see asi 2.  
 arani, underneath, down, below; *aranin(i)*, what (who) is underneath; see G. N. I § 3; *pai to arani*, humiliate.  
 aranihile, see ihile.  
 aranoure, see noure.  
 arapa, burn.  
 arapale, see pale, rapale, tapa.  
 araraene, see ene.  
 ararake, see rake.

- araruale, see ruale.  
 arasaïke, see saïke.  
 arasaure, see saure.  
 arasuhale, see suhale.  
 arasure, let down.  
 arata 1, see ara 3.  
 arata 2, wing of the nose: *murwana*  
     *arata*.  
 aratore, orange-coloured.  
 aratrene, see ratrene.  
 arau, yellow, orange.  
 ara'uare, see u'are.  
 ara'ume, see ume.  
 arawai, foot of a mountain.  
 āre, herd, feed (cattle); *āria*, the  
     feeding, herding of cattle; cp.  
     ere.  
 aria, illness, disease.  
 arien, lamentation, ceremonial  
     bemoaning; *arien pai*, lament,  
     bemoan; cp. *numarie*.  
 arina, light, set fire to.  
 aroli, see toli.  
 ar'ra, floor above the ground.  
 aru, vulva.  
 aruale, see ruale.  
 arula, let loose, let go, give up;  
     *ime arula*, be busy, be astir.  
 aruma, needle (from Mal. *djarum*).  
 arus(u), favourable (of the wind);  
     see also s. *aam(a)*.  
 arutu, see s. *isa* 3.  
 asa, fowl; *asa adahoko*, shoot fowl  
     with a blow-gun; *asa amin*, body-  
     lice (lit. fowl's lice); *asa iakupa*,  
     bird's toe; *asa ihihilana*, loqua-  
     cious loiterer (lit. fowl flying  
     about continually); *asa panar*,  
     hen; *asa taraleu*, cock; *asa lōno*,  
     sacrificial fowl; *oto asa*, bird;  
     *asawari*, artificial nest for hens  
     to lay eggs in.  
 asah, leaf; *asah uhan etun*, *asah*  
     *uhuhan*, foliage, various kinds of  
     leaves.  
 asaike, see saïke.  
 asajapal, penthouse, shed.  
 asakila, grasshopper.  
 asasa, butterfly, cp. *asa*.  
 asasate, see s. oo 2.  
 asaure, see saure.  
 āse, rough, rude.  
 ashe, round about, moving around.  
 asi 1, obtain, acquire; *asinana*,  
     what has been acquired; *asin(i)*,  
     who acquires, acquiring; see  
     G. N. I § 3 a.  
 asi 2, see, look; *asinana*, seen;  
     *asin(i)*, who sees, seeing; *a'anasi*,  
     look straight into, see just before  
     one's eyes; *ahanasin pai*, look  
     fixedly at a person in order to  
     find out whether or not he is  
     hiding something; *aranasi*, look  
     down; see also *etenasi*, o'one.  
 asile, to, towards; see G. N. VIII  
     § 1 d.  
 asilene, see ne.  
 asir, salt; *asirana*, salted; *asir me*  
     *āni*, to salt.  
 asise, be able to, capable to.  
 asohone, see sohon(o).  
 asrana, spread, propagate (of  
     plants).  
 asu, completely, all of them to-  
     gether.  
 asuhale, see suhale.  
 asura, see sura.  
 atan(a), servant, slave; *atan uma*  
     *waruan*, third caste.  
 atare, chop, cut up; *atarana*, chop-  
     ped, cut up.  
 atarihale, see tihale.  
 atarjēte, see unut.  
 atarlere, struck (on the ear).  
 atartihale, see tihale.  
 atasia, leaves; *atasia raarajana*,  
     vegetables; cp. *raaje*.  
 ate, you (sing.); see G. N. V § 1,  
     VI § 2.

ato, see to.

atoho, see toho.

atono, see tono.

atu 1, you (sing); see G. N. V § 1, VI § 2.

atu 2, belly, intestines, excrement; *atu aalamana*, intestines; *atu aun naware he*, he is utterly stupid (lit. does not know one excrement); *atu nāni*, is in the womb; *atu naua nauan*, glutton (lit. who swallows excrements); *atu tapmodo*, intestines (cp. *tapu, modo*); *atutitilhai*, treason, treacherous, cruel, hard-hearted, bloodthirsty (lit. belly unmovable pig); *atutitillukun*, slanderer; *atu-wele naataru*, livelihood (lit. belly-skin windpipe).

aua, penis.

auakete, penis (lit. penis-stick).

auana, plank, board; bench; *auana rante*, loose board or plank in a boat; also: *auana talat*.

auhere, stern-board, stern-rim.

aukohil, ink-fish.

aumani, capoc.

a'umani, who are you?; see G. N. IV § 2.

a'ume, see ume.

aun, auni, aunu, uani, one, a certain, some (sing.); *aunie*, the one; *aunio uhe*, not a single one; see G. N. III, IV § 3.

auoro, see aworo.

a'ur(u), lime; *a'ur lausana*, quick lime; *a'ur umnana*, white lime; *a'ur me āni*, put on lime, plaster; *lada a'ur*, chalk (lit. Hollandish lime).

awajamai, see wajamai.

awaje, see sudi.

awaluru, see waluru.

awaria, scorpion.

awarware, see ware.

aweana, see aweu.

awen(e), place.

aweru, irrigate, drench; *naweru*, id.

aweu, salute, greet, take leave; greetings; *aweana pai*, salute, greet.

aworo, auoro, strew, sow; squander; *aworon(o)*, seed (sown); *itasnaworo*, sown, overspread roundabout.

## B

bolsak, mattress (from Holl. *bultzak*).

## D

dadan, layer, story of a house; also: *daran*.

dadare, strike, hit.

dadila, gong.

dain(i) 1, flint.

dain(i) 2, last night.

dāje, kick.

dala, casting-net; *dala pai*, fish with a casting-net.

dalare, see ia dalare.

dān, take care of.

danare, greedy, gluttonous.

danas, dance (like Europeans).

dānu, trail (of plants), spread, multiply (also of human beings); cp. also *hēlu*.

dapuru, cooking-place (from Mal. *dapur*).

daran 1, layer, story of a house; also: *dadan*.

daran 2, mountain, rock; *daran oowaru*, civet-cat (lit. mountain lord).

darane, broil, roast.

- dari 1**, net.
- dari 2**, army, followers; especially in the current expression *seridari*, which corresponds to Mal. *bala tentera*.
- darjee**, touch.
- dau 1**, dish, plate, saucer; *dau alu-ana*, plate depository or receptacle; *dau manpia*, shallow bowl; *dau pain(i) hū pain(i)*, who makes plates and jars (the Creator).
- dau 2**, head (according to interpreter a "Timorese" word).
- da'uru**, window; *da'uru utnatiran*, grate, bar (lit. what is in the window's way, what stands across the window).
- dawar**, rude, impertinent, scoundrel; *dawartaan*, rudeness etc.; see G. N. II § 2 c.
- dede**, plant-louse.
- dedelawa**, plant-louse; cp. *lawā*.
- dedem**, dark, night; *dedemana*, what is dark, darkness, night; *dedemanahe*, evening (not yet night).
- deida**, grumble (of angry people).
- dele**, maize.
- deren**, group of people who are working a garden together; *deren pai raka pai*, associate to work a garden; cp. *raka*.
- deru**, call, shout; *aderu*, *naderu*, invite to; *derderu*, call, shout continually, repeatedly; *derderun(u)*, who calls continually, shouting continually etc.; *derderun(u) itaaruale*, shouting continually to each other; *punderu*, call together.
- dida**, pick, cull, take down (fruit, leaves, flowers).
- didke 1**, order, command; often: *didke kasaru*.
- didke 2**, winnow (of rice).
- diku**, deaf.
- dila**, frog, toad.
- dindin'ke**, small; *dindin'kana*, who (which, what) is small.
- doit**, cent (Holl. *duit*), copper.
- dol(i)**, little, a little; *doldol(i)*, very little; *doli mēmē*, pick up one by one (as birds do); *was doldoli*, as little as possible.
- dolon(o)**, layer, story of a house; always used together with *kohil(i)*, which has the same meaning.
- domin**, Protestant missionary (from Holl. *dominee*: parson).
- domor**, the Southern-Cross; also: a cross-shaped implement for winding up yarn.
- dōre, dōro**, hungry, hunger; *dor(o)-naware*, to hunger, be hungry (lit. know hunger); *dor na umu pee*, famished (lit. from hunger going to die); *pai to dōre*, make hungry.
- dorke**, ask.
- doro**, spear, lance; *doro loor(o)*, weapons (lit. spear sword); *doro me uare*, stab with a spear or lance; see *uare*.
- doure**, only used with prefixes: *adoure*, *nadoure*, dun for payment; *nanadoure*, dun continually or repeatedly; see also *kasu(n)*.
- dudle**, see *itadudle*.
- dudu**, bamboo.
- dudūre**, see *dūre*.
- dula**, completely, complete, ready, finished; *dulahai*, to finish.
- dulana**, see *dule*.
- dule**, tie firmly (so that it cannot be loosened); *dulana*, knot in a piece of string or suchlike.
- duma**, see *hihi*.
- dūre**, rise (from sleep); *apududūre*,

rise together, all of them; *itas-düre*, rise together; *dudüre* *he*, languish, be ailing; *dudüre* also means rising-time; *pai to düre*, cause to rise, restore to consciousness.

*durlia*, shoot, sprig; *durlia āni*, to shoot, bud.  
*du'u*, throw down, miscarry (a child).

## E

*ē*, you, your (sing.); see G. N. II § 2, V §§ 1—2.

*ede*, also, likewise; see G. N. VIII § 2.

*eden*, pine-apple.

*ederemu*, remember, think of, remember with longing; *ederemu he*, having lost one's head, confused, dazed, forgetful; *edederemu*, be attentive, cautious; *ānederemu*, *aanederemu*, trust, believe in, hope; *ānederemun(u)*, trusting, believing in, who believes etc., trust, hope; *nānederemu*, have at heart, be mindful of; *inānederemu*, trust oneself, be self-confident; *tunederemu*, flash into one's mind, remember suddenly; see *tu* 1.

*e'elewe*, see *elewe*.

*e'en*, *ei*, *eije'en(e)*, *eje'en(e)*, two; see G. N. III.

*eh*, ah, alas!

*ehehe*, see *s. isa* 3.

*ehere*, pour out, cast, found; *eherana*, what is or has been poured out, cast, found.

*ei*, see *e'en*.

*eije'en(e)*, *eje'en(e)*, see *e'en*.

*elewe*, cold, cool, refreshing; *e'elewe*, to blow; *elewe āni*, having a cold, benumbed; *pai to elewe*, make cold, refresh; *panu elewe*, sour, clouded over (of the face).

*elhia*, sago-palm; palm-leaf ribs,

used as material for house-walls etc.

*elua*, dark, clouded over; see *s. wadu*.

*(e)m(e)*, to take, treat (deal with), give; further auxiliary verb expressing energetic or causative action; see G. N. VI § 3 *d*—*i*.

*ememen*, favour, mark of favour; *ememeni*, to favour.

*emer*, pail, bucket (Holl. *emmer*).

*(e)mete*, carry along, take along; *emeten*, who takes along, leader, guide.

*ene*, gutter.

*(e)ne*, say, speak, mention; pass judgment, decide; think, be of opinion, suppose; sometimes: *enne*; *enenen*, who mentions, speaks etc., mentioning, mentioned; *araene*, refuse, be unwilling, allow not, decline; *araraene*, refuse absolutely, be entirely unwilling; *enenara* = *ene nara*; see also *ne*.

*enen*, continually.

*enēn(e)*, what is obtained, acquired, caught; harvest, catch; the same thing is expressed by *enēne jalana*.

*en'ne*, see *ene*.

*epu*, know, recognize; *ahanepu*, recognize (be able to know, recognize).

*ere*, take care of, guard, tend; *eren*, shepherd, herdsman; *eren pai*, tend (cattle); cp. *āre*.

**ēre**, a kind of reed-grass (Jav. *alang-alang*, Mal. *lalang*).

**ēri**, you (sing.); G. N. V § 1.

**eru**, bale-fire.

**ēru**, claw, talon; scratch; stir (liquids, porridge etc.); also used figuratively.

**er(u)t(e)**, spring-tide, heavy surf; *erut lere*, spring-tide; cp. *lere* 1.

**ese**, cover; *esejete*, cover up; *esekuile*, asleep (cp. *kuikuile*); *ese mo (mo)*, shade, overshadow (cp. *mo*).

**ēta**, you (sing.); see G. N. V § 1 b.

**etai**, the day after to-morrow, the third day.

**etasa** = *ete asa*.

**ete** 1, tree, bamboo; *ete asa*, tree-leaf; *ete hohonana*, mouldered, rotting wood; *ete ihi*, flower; *ete lalu*, bamboo-node; *ete larin*, tree-root, medicine; *ete larin me āni*, cure, apply medicine; *ete modo taru modo*, growth, plants, vegetation; *ete mujara*, sandelwood (lit. odorous wood); *ete nakun*, splinter; *ete totolana*, split and flattened bamboo, used as material for house-walls and suchlike (lit. finely-split bamboo) (Mal. *pelupuh*); *ete waja*, ink (lit. wood-gum).

**ete** 2, wrong (verbal prefix).

**etehire**, see *hire*.

**etekaure**, see *kaure*.

**etekirakira**, see *kirakira*.

**etenahinorok(e)**, see *nahinorok(e)*.

**etenasi**, wrong, mistaken, misunderstanding (lit. see *wrongly*); *etetenasi*, not clearly visible (of something that is far away).

**eterapa**, see *tapa*.

**etere**, arrange, regulate, order; usually: *etere ajare*; *eteren(e) ajaren(e)*, which have been arranged, surrounding (of the neighbouring islands), inhabitants.

**etesari**, see *s. iar*.

**etesuile**, see *suile*.

**etetehire**, see *hire*.

**etetenasi**, see *etenasi*.

**etetun**, see *etun*.

**eteuale**, see *uale*.

**ethain(i)**, if; see G. N. VIII § 2.

**eti**, chisel, chopper; *eti pai*, to chisel, chop; *etinlok on pai*, work wood with a chisel or chopper (lit. make traces of cutting, chopping in wood).

**etu**, then, so; see G. N. VIII § 2.

**etun**, place, position, standing in the community, rank, caste; *etetun*, all sorts, all kinds, various.

## H

**ha(waini)**, father; term of address: *hale*; *ha kaka*, father's elder brother; *ha noonoo*, father's younger brother; *hanami*, nearest male relatives, especially brothers (lit. father-brother); see also *s. na(waini)*; *ha lausana*, foster-father; *ha wari aamiren*, step-father (lit. father who sits on the nest); instead of *aamiren* may also be used *aamirana* (cp. *mire*).

**ha** 2, ah! alas!

**ha** 3, but, but only; while, whereas; see G. N. VIII § 2.

**ha'aha'a**, see *s. oo* 2.

**ha'ajēte**, see *jēte*.

**haetu**, prepare, equip.

**hahahe**, see *huhuhe hahahe*.

**hahakana**, large hole; *hahakene*, with a large hole, with large holes.

**hahale**, see *pale*.



- hahan**, human body, corpse without a head.
- hahu**, see *s. ka*.
- hahula**, a kind of cucumber.
- hai**, pig; *hai dari*, pig-net; *hai il(i)*, pig-snare; *hai kodo*, pigsty; *hai oto*, wild boar; *hai oto wari*, lair of a boar.
- haihais(e)**, see *haise*.
- haihu**, palm-tree marrow.
- hain(i)**, mother's brother's wife; *hain(i) kaka*, mother's elder brother's wife; *hain(i) noonoo*, mother's younger brother's wife; see also *s. irim(i)*.
- haisaka 1**, glutton.
- haisaka 2**, shell-fish, snail, oyster.
- haise**, ladle out, scoop out, draw (water from a well); *haihais(e)*, scoop consisting of a coconut shell with a handle.
- haiwaren**, collar-bone.
- haja 1**, a fruit: *Mangifera indica* (Mal. *mangga*).
- haja 2**, bead.
- hakane**, float (in the air or on the water), fly, come to the surface, emerge; being in the harbour without being anchored; *haka-hakane*, be floating about, to and fro; *ahakane*, staying in the harbour without anchoring; *araha-kane*, staying below in the harbour, in the harbour underneath; *menhakane*, float near by; *ita-menhakane*, be floating near each other; see also *halse*.
- hāk pai**, do crotchet-work, embroider (from Holl. *haken*).
- hakua**, a kind of crow.
- hala**, garden, field; *hala dajana*, fallow field; *hala mesi*, plant a field; *hala pain*, garden-work; *hala uhele*, weed a garden.
- halai**, metallic wire.
- halate**, bend, stoop; *halahalate mi-saun kirakira*, buried in thought (lit. with a bent head think about something); *adahalate*, patience, be patient.
- hāle**, wash (clothes).
- hale hale**, peel.
- hali**, there is not, is wanting; *halin(i)*, not having, who does not have.
- halse**, light (not heavy); float, anchor in a harbour, put to sea; *halhalse*, be floating about, be anchored; *menhalse*, float or be anchored near by; *ahalse*, float, drop anchor somewhere; *arahalse*, being anchored, drop anchor below in the harbour; *halse hakane*, drop in and anchor, be anchored.
- halu**, remorse, regret; widow(er).
- hanaha**, perhaps? (dubitative and interrogative particle); see G. N. VIII § 2.
- hanahanate**, see *hanate*.
- hanak**, disease; *hanak mahunana*, pest (lit. disease that is bad).
- hanate**, ill, in danger, in distress; *hanahanate*, be ailing (always or for a long time); *hanatana*, who is ill etc.; *pai to hanate*, make ill; *was hanate*, distress, grief, misery.
- hanatia**, bed-bug.
- hanaur**, club, cudgel.
- hante**, to tie; *nahante*, tie to, on.
- hantuku**, towel (Holl. *handdoek*).
- harahara**, dirt, excrement.
- harare**, revile, slander.
- harhara**, a fan; *harhare*, to fan.
- hari**, wind; *hari (was) hetele*, storm; *hari lapai*, hurricane; *hari panu naa ma'u*, head-wind; (*hari*) *nerentiparana*, following wind; cp. *nere*, *tipare*.

- harir**, dry monsoon.  
**haroson**, breathing; *haroson kou-koure*, snore, snoring (lit. breathing resounds, keeps making noise).  
**harsaine**, dangerous, fatal.  
**haru**, widow; cp. **halu**.  
**haruaje**, **harwaje**, push with one's elbows.  
**haruk**, near, near by.  
**hata**, stem, stave, bar; *hata na lause*, attach itself to (lit. grow on the stem); see also **us'hata**.  
**hat(a)le**, gather; *hatahatale*, tribute, taxes; *pun(u)hatale*, gather.  
**hatate**, dry; often used together with its synonym **retlene**.  
**hati**, part, share; *hatin(i)*, what separated, divided; in the middle; *hatinrane*, midnight, in the dead of night; *hathati*, divide, separate; *itahathati*, part, separate (from each other); *pai itahati*, cause to separate.  
**hatu**, to help; *hathatun pain*, who helps, helper; *hathatun(u)*, help, assistance.  
**haturu**, have a feeling that one is getting ill.  
**ha'u**, warm oneself at the fire.  
**ha'uane**, having one father.  
**haule**, swollen, boss, lump; *hauhau-len*, leprosy.  
**ha'uha'urimni**, lukewarm; cp. **tim(i)n(i)**.  
**haume**, tumble down, fall in (especially of houses).  
**hawaini**, see **ha**.  
**he**, no, not; *he ro*, no more, not again.  
**he'e**, squeezey, oppressed; standing in the way, obstruction, obstacle.  
**he'ensoli**, squeezey dwelling-place.  
**hehen**, see **s. rapale**.  
**hehese**, a part of the weaving-loom or a weaving-implement.  
**heina'a**, gift, present.  
**hele**, friend, comrade; *hele pai, hele kula pai* (*kula* = *hele*), *hele pai kula pai*, become friends, strike up a friendship.  
**helere**, see **nahelere**, **ut'helere**.  
**heli**, in the way, impediment, stuck fast; *helhelin*, hindrance, impediment; *helin pai*, stand in the way, hinder from.  
**hēlu dānu**, multiply, increase; cp. **dānu**.  
**hērai**, trifle away one's time with prattle (after the village *Hērai*, *Erai*, on the west-coast of Wetar, whose inhabitants had this reputation).  
**here 1**, lie, lie down; *unahere*, lie there; *me unahere*, lay down there, throw down there; *urahere pan'here*, lie about, lie everywhere.  
**here 2**, wash, wipe off.  
**here 3**, creek, bay.  
**here 4**, rock.  
**herehere 1**, shout with laughter.  
**herehere 2**, a kind of crab (Amb. Mal. *ketam kenari*).  
**her(e)ke**, a kind of purslane.  
**hēren**, domestic animals, cattle.  
**herenen(e)**, riches, wealth.  
**herheri**, skirt of the village.  
**herke**, see **uule**.  
**herse**, cut slices from the flower-stalk of a palm to draw its sap.  
**hēt(e)**, sleeping-mat.  
**hetele**, plentiful; cp. **a'alamana, maro**.  
**hetun**, big bamboo.  
**heura**, shrimp.  
**hewete**, dress, clothing; use; *hewe hewete*, dresses, clothing (probably from Port. *habito*).

- hiahara**, take care of, provide for, regale, serve up (food); *hiaharan*, providing, care, entertainment, feast; *hiaharan pai*, take care of, provide for, regale, give a feast.
- hian**, small house-lizard (Mal. *tje-tjak*).
- hianin**, ?
- hiha**, cask, barrel (from Port. *pipa*).
- hihele**, ?
- hihi**, sheep; *hihi duma*, sheep; amenable, obedient; *hihi Jotowa*, goat (lit. Kisar sheep).
- hihirarin**, see **hirari**.
- hihirene**, lying open, free (of a road).
- hihite**, famous, renowned, being known.
- hilahilar**, cock's comb.
- hinan(a)**, swaddling-cloth; mother's lap, womb, fatherland; *hinan aharielen*, eldest child (lit. who breaks the womb with his feet; cp. **tiele**); *hinan aramain*, eldest child (lit. who begins the pregnancy, or: the womb that begins); *hinan patu*, fatherland (swaddling-cloth lap); *eme punu hinanu*, shelter, protect.
- hindau**, dish, plate, saucer of fine quality; cp. **dau**.
- hira** 1, tin, white iron.
- hira** 2, leaf.
- hirari**, inhabit, dwell; dwelling-place, fixed abode (= *solu hirari*); *hihirarin*, dwelling-place; see also **solu**; *nerenhirari*, stay near or with.
- hire**, to lie; *hire hiren*, lie; *hire he*, true; *hire kaune*, lie greatly; *hire pai*, deceive, tell lies; *ahire*, belie, lie to; *etehire*, deceive; *etete hire*, belie, deceive continually or repeatedly; *washire*, mendacious, liar.
- hirlasar**, various kinds of cunning devices, tricks and traps.
- hitalu**, pull.
- hitin(e)**, white; *hitin(i)*, what, who is white, being white.
- hitne** = **hitine**.
- ho** 1, adhortative particle at the end of a sentence.
- ho** 2, shave.
- ho'e**, to be somewhere; *ho'ana*, who, what is (there); *naho'ana*, who is (are) dwelling (there), inhabitant(s); cp. **po'e**.
- hoho** 1, rotten, putrid, stinking; pl. *hoho'ira* (see G. N. II § 1); *hoho male*, stink of urine; *hohonana*, mouldered.
- hoho** 2, a kind of pigeon (Mal. *tekukur*).
- hohon**, wall, partition, small space partitioned off; cover of the rice-ear.
- hohoute**, see **houte**.
- hohonana**, see **hoho** 1.
- hohorete**, angling-rod (of bamboo).
- hoin** 1, small bag made out of a leaf, cornet.
- hoin(e)** 2, see **s. nakun(u)**.
- hokohoko**, bile.
- hokol(e)**, scurf, itch, pustule.
- hokolou**, basket, bag made out of a leaf.
- hōle** 1, hanging down, being bent down (of heavy branches).
- hole** 2, urge on, exhort, compel, constrain; *hōlen*, who compels etc.; *hōlana*, compulsion, constraint etc.; *hōle ro*, compelled etc.; *hōle to mahunana pai*, incite to act badly.
- holete**, make noise, sound, in the expression *reu reu kalete holete*.
- holi**, take care of, watch, guard.

- holo**, vulva; *holo irakete*, lewd woman (lit. vulva lecherous).  
**hon**, combat, war.  
**hōne**, heavy.  
**hoput(e)**, dispute, quarrel; *hoputen*, be quarrelling; *hopuhoputen*, quarrelling, bickerings.  
**hore**, satiated; *pai to hore*, satiate.  
**horese narese**, pant, gasp for breath.  
**horia**, a certain tree (Amb. Mal. *parna*).  
**horo**, wind, entwine, encircle, revolve, roam about, go around; *horohoronwakle*, jump about, wander about; *horohoronripare*, wander about; *horon kolewen auni*, see *kolewe*, *tipare*.  
**horok(e)**, ceremonial dance, Porka-feast, dance; *horokle*, Porka-house (sacred house in the centre of the village); *horok pale jau pale*, lead the rites, be the leader of the rites; *ahorok(e)*, celebrate the Porka-feast.  
**horon'he**, receive in state, escort ceremonially; cp. **horo**.  
**horonjēte**, surround; cp. **horo**.  
**horonuale**, **horonwale**, surround; cp. **horo**.  
**horot**, bunch, bundle, sheaf; *horote*, tie together in bundles etc.  
**hosisi**, halt, limp, walk with a limp.  
**hōte**, see **pōte**.  
**hotun**, lover, beloved one; *itahotun*, lovers; *mud(u)hotana*, darling.  
**houte**, descend, go down; *houten*, who, what, goes down; *ho(u)-houte*, keep descending, descend continually, be descended from (spring from), descent; *eme houte*, cause to descent, let down, humiliate; *pai to houte* = *eme houte*; *nahoute*, descend on, fall down on; *inahoute*, pay as a fine.  
**hu 1**, bow-net.  
**hu 2**, pot; *hu lapai*, large cooking-pot, large vase or pot; *hu pain(i) dau pain(i)*, Creator (lit. who makes pots and plates); *hulukar*, pottery-basket.  
**hua**, pinang; *hua maulu*, nipah-palm; *hua leku*, pinang-field.  
**huale**, loose, get loose; *muduhuale*, let in.  
**huhu**, blow (of the wind) (?).  
**huhuhe hahaha**, a disease.  
**huina**, ridge purlin of a house and its palm-leaf covering.  
**huiti laiti**, first ancestors; cp. **huitin**, **laiti**.  
**huitin**, secret (lit. pot-bottom).  
**huje**, to cook; *huje huje*, occupied with cooking; much cooking going on; *tawahuje*, cook together.  
**huk(u)n(e)**, severe punishment, sentence; *hukun me ina*, punish, pass sentence (Mal. *hukum*).  
**hulahula**, streamer, pendant.  
**hulukar**, see **hu 2**.  
**huna**, calf of the leg, lower part of the leg (between knee and foot).  
**hunū**, plain; level.  
**hura**, price, expense, *huramu*, to sell; *hurahuramu*, to sell always, repeatedly; trade; *hura hali*, gratis, for nothing; *hura pai*, pay; trade; *hura saile*, current, in demand; *hura tū pai*, pay cash down; *hura tuure*, dear, expensive.  
**huruk**, maize-lice.  
**hurumaha wunhai**, boat (in ceremonial and literary speech).  
**hurwetke**, see **s. ina 3**.  
**hutluku**, insist on, try to persuade to, compel to; see **luku**.  
**hutrau**, fling, throw; *ahutrau*, fling at, throw at; *arahutrau*, fling, throw down (patients singular), *eme arahutrau*, cause to fall down, humiliate; *muduhutrau*,

throw in; *nahutrau*, throw at,  
*odohutrau*, throw, strew to; *una-*

*hutrau*, throw away there; *ura-*  
*hutrau panhutrau*, throw about.

## I

*i*, possessive pre- and suffix; see  
 G. N. II § 2, VI § 3.

*i* 1, you (pl.); possessive prefix;  
 see G. N. II § 2, V § 2.

*i* 2, reflexive pronoun for all per-  
 sons: oneself; see G. N. V § 3.

*ia* 1, foot, leg; *ia dalare*, cripple,  
 lame; *iahe*, straddling, astride;  
 tumble, fall head over heels;  
*itaijiahe*, tumble one over the  
 other; *iahuna*, calf of the leg; *ia*  
*iliare*, sprain one's ankle; *ia*  
*itin(itim)*, heel (lit. foot-bottom);  
*ia kawar*, shoe (lit. foot-cover);  
*ia kupa*, toe; *ia kupa me lalare*,  
 walk on tiptoe (cp. *lare*); *ia*  
*lawar*, stocking (foot-cover); *ia*  
*lowai*, husband (leg long); *ia*  
*maruh*, footprint; *ia moil me*  
*terne*, kneel (lit. make knees  
 press); *ia paha*, thigh; *ia panum*  
 (= *panu me*) *wuwur*, dare, risk,  
 be dauntless (lit. stab foot face);  
*ia pele*, sole of the foot; *ia sou-*  
*soul*, knee-cap; *ia'uahe*, humiliate  
 oneself (move under foot); *ita-*  
*i(a)iahe*, tumble one on top of  
 the other; *ia uamire*, subject,  
 submissive (lit. sit under foot);  
*ia uate*, step, stride (lift foot);  
*ia uste le kolewe mani uste le*  
*o'onwaje*, invite respectfully (ask  
 permission to embrace foot and  
 neck).

*ia* 2 = *iar*.

*ia(a)*, on top of, up in, down from  
 (postposition and verbal prefix);  
 see G. N. I § 4, VIII § 1 a.

*iahata*, *naniahata*, coire.

*iaho'e*, is (are) on top of (up in);

*iaho'ana*, being on top of (up  
 in).

*ia'i* = *ia'a*; *ia'i na'a*, from above.

*iakaure*, tuck up (e.g. sleeves).

*iakono*, take up, load in a boat.

*ialaike*, throw on, on top of.

*iamire*, alight on, sit down on.

*iamore*, load on.

*ianasi*, look up.

*iani*, above, on high, up; *ianin(i)*,  
 what (who) is above, on high;  
 see G. N. I § 3 c.

*ianihile*, alight on, cp. *ihile*.

*ianoure*, chase up.

*iar*, road, path; *ia(r) dedemana*,  
 wife (lit. road in the night);  
*ia(r) etesari*, choke oneself, swal-  
 low the wrong way (go the  
 wrong way); *ia(r) hakanana*  
*ia(r) halsana*, on the way, while  
 travelling; *iar itareksen*, four-  
 way (roads that cross each other);  
*iar ira reksana*, bridge (road  
 that cuts the water); *ia(r) lapai*,  
 great road; *ia(r) lapai pasar horo*  
*naten*, street (great road market  
 standing around); *ia(r) letana*,  
 on the way; *ia(r) lete*, intermedi-  
 ary in a marriage affair (inter-  
 mediate road, road in between);  
*ia(r) me aratrene*, guide (who  
 shows somebody the way);  
*ia(r) na'a*, on the way; *ia(r) na-*  
*waren*, guide (who knows the  
 way); *ia(r) pai wati pai*, marry  
 (of the woman); *ia(r) panpan-*  
*more*, loiter (go one's way by  
 little bits); *ia(r) rekse*, take a  
 short cut (cut the road); *ia(r)*  
*taran*, bifurcation (road-branch);

- ia(r) taran nere*, turn off, branch off.
- iara*, chin; *iara lia*, beard; *iara wel-welu*, chattering teeth.
- iarane*, go up, ascend, embark; see *rane*.
- iare*, pay; *iarana*, expenses.
- iaripare*, see *tipare*.
- iaruhu*, see *ruhu*.
- iasaike*, throw down from above, separate from.
- iasi*, self; *iasi ut'halama'i*, shut of its own accord (e.g. a door); see G. N. IV § 1 e.
- iaslaike*, reject, abolish; exile, banish; *ime iaslaike*, risk one's life; cp. s. *maro*.
- iasuile*, rise (of the sun); *iasuilen*, which rises, rising.
- ia'uare*, jump up, leap in the air.
- ia'uate*, take up, contract.
- ie*, *je*, demonstrative pronoun, possessive suffix and postpositive article; see G. N. II § 2, IV § 1, VI § 3 a.
- ihai ihain*, behaviour, doings.
- ihalo'or*, chopping-knife, cleaver; cp. *loor*.
- ihana*, fickle, capricious, foppish; *ihanahanan*, a person who behaves capriciously, foppishly.
- ihar(a)*, dog; *iharamin*, dog-lice; *iharasa*, war-chief, military leader (dog fowl); *iharhai*, scoundrel, villain (dog pig); *iharwäre*, hunt with dogs; cp. *wäre*.
- ihi*, flower, star; *ihi kaunoro*, opened, full-blown flower; *ihi roroke*, *rorokana*, falling star; *ihi soko-lai*, comet.
- ihiha'u*, wave, beckon.
- ihile*, fly, float in the air; *ihihilana*, who is (are) always flying about; *ihihilen*, who is (are) always flying about, flying about continually or repeatedly; supernatural power; *aranihile*, fly low (almost touching the water or the ground), sweep.
- ihurahuramu*, harlot (lit. is always selling herself).
- i'i*, shut, cover.
- i'ikaure*, work; *enen iikaure*, be always working, toil; cp. *kaure* 2 (?).
- i'ilare*, trample upon.
- i'in*, scale (of a fish); *iin āni*, *iini*, scaled, scaly, be scaled; *iine*, remove the scales, strip of its scales.
- i'inate*, float (of a flag and such-like).
- i'ire*, rub, scour, grind; *i'ir(i)*, grinding-stone.
- ijani*, see *iani*.
- ijo'ohai*, *ijo'ohain*, see *ioohai*.
- ijo'one*, see *io'one*.
- ika*, wooden hoe.
- ikrei*, church (Port. *igreja*).
- ikris*, English (Mal. *inggris*).
- il*, snare; *il enēne*, decoy, bait; *il me nāme*, *il me rau*, snare (catch with a snare, set a snare); *il pai*, set a snare; cp. *ile*.
- ilan* 1, vanquished, be worsted, have the worse; loss, detriment.
- ilan* 2, coconut shell; *ilan(u)uraka*, shell of an unripe coconut.
- ilana*, see *ile*.
- ilap(a)*, rifle; *ilap(a)lapai*, cannon; *ilap tapu*, bullet.
- ilapu*, blow, stroke (with a weapon).
- ilas(a)*, understanding, prudence, discretion, modesty, good breeding, manners, custom, usage; *ilasi* (with possessive suffix), accustomed to, usage, usual; *ilas jāni*, understanding, modesty etc., good manners; *ilas mahunana liare selre*, repent, mend one's



- ways (change bad ways); *ilas nahamai*, ill-mannered, ill-bred (not knowing manners); *ilas(a) nair(i)*, the whole of (good) manners and morals, more in particular: ceremonies, religious rites; also: character, composition, arrangement, instruction; *ilas(a) nair(i) pai, ilas(a) pai nair(i) pai*, perform the rites; cp. also *nair(i)*.
- ile*, tie (threads for tie-dyeing); *ilana*, the threads stretched and ready to be tied for dyeing; *tawa'ile*, bind fast, tie together; *tawa'ilen*, who ties together, tying together.
- ilehe*, transfer, swing round, turn round; *ilehe*, turn round (one-self); *ilehen*, transversal(ly); *tawanilehe*, remove and add to.
- ili* 1, big stone, rock.
- ili* 2, back part; *ilin*, stern, rudder; tricks and traps; *ilin tana*, helm-stock (rudder-hand); *ilin hali to ilehen mara mara*, drift off transversally (lit. there is no rudder, so it is drifting transversally); *ilin pale*, steer (hold the rudder); *ilin palen*, helmsman (who holds the rudder).
- il(i)hualita*, part of the weaving-loom.
- ili* = *il*.
- iliare*, see *liare*.
- ilin*, see *ili* 2.
- ilkua*, arm-pit.
- ilmoa*, middle, waist, loins; *ilmoa noa maina*, unmovable (lit. in the middle fast).
- iloje*, see *loje*.
- ilori*, see *lori*.
- ilpua*, a tuberous plant: *Colocasia (taro, Mal. keladi)*.
- ima*, coire.
- imalpe*, see *malpe*.
- ime arara*, see *ara* 4.
- ime arula*, see *arula*.
- iminasi*, care about, concern one-self about.
- imore*, see *more*.
- imuda'a*, see *muda'a*.
- in*, we, us, our (excl.); see G. N. II § 2, V §§ 1—2, § 3.
- ina* 1, which, what (interrogative pronoun, prepositive, attributive); see G. N. IV § 2; where; see G. N. I § 4 a.
- ina* 2, to plait.
- ina* 3, give; towards; *inina*, give continually, use to give.
- ina* 4, face, eye, appearance, shape; *ina lere*, dazzled, blinded (by glaring light); *inalia*, eyelash; *inamodo*, eye; *inamodo itiai nani*, with sunken eyes; *inamodo hur wetke*, blink one's eyes (keep closing opening one's eyes); *inamodo kuikuile*, close one's eyes, closed eyes; *inamodo najete he*, unseemly, very indecent, e.g. incest (lit. the eye does not rest upon, not to be looked at); *inamodo tapu*, eye-ball; *inamodo uma tau ani*, having dust in the eye(s); *inamule panmule*, perished, dead (lit. face shape disappeared); *inapanu*, appearance, shape, aspect; *inapau*, eyelid; *inapau*, eye-ball; upper half of a coconut shell; *inapau a'arau*, sunken-eyed; *inapau mala'i nani*, having bulging eyes (eye-balls stay outside); *inapau mudunasi*, throw a sidelong look (eye-balls look inside); *ina'uni*, *ina'auni* (= *i'ina'uni*, *iina'auni*), not changed, having its usual aspect, shape (lit. its aspect one); *ina'-una'uni* (= *i'ina'uni auni*), looking



- exactly as before; *inawair*, squinting (lit. eye crooked, curved); *inawaja*, tear (see also s. *sunu*); *inawaja elelere*, streaming tears; *inawati*, eyebrow (lit. eye-road).
- ina'a*, this here, here (demonstrative pronoun, adverb, and verbal prefix; also *ina*); see G. N. I § 4 a, VIII § 1 a.
- ina'auni*, *ina'uni*, see s. *ina* 4.
- inahai*, why, what is the cause of, why is it that; see G. N. I § 4 b.
- inahamai*, see *nahamai*.
- inahanawe*, see *nahanawe*.
- inahema'u*, *inama'u*, come here.
- inahoute*, see *houte*.
- ina'i*, what; *ina'i ali*, what next, what more, what further; *ina'i ina'jo* (= *ina'i o*), whatever; *ina'i ina'jo uhe*, nothing whatever; it does not matter; *ina'in*, whatever, something; see also G. N. IV §§ 2—3.
- ina'iri*, is this, this (emphatical); see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- ina'je*, this here, this; *ina'je* (often abbreviated to *ina'i*) *ta reiwo'o*, this is the reason, the cause; see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- inakadan*, forehead.
- inakarare*, beam, shine, gleam.
- inakeri*, wild (of beasts).
- inakesi*, see *kesi*.
- inalarin(i)*, see *larin(i)*.
- inalaulausana*, see *lause*.
- inamara*, see *mara*.
- inamire*, see *mire*.
- inamuda'a*, see *muda'a*.
- inana'a*, whence.
- inananaramai*, regarding, concerning, as to; cp. *aramain*.
- inanāwa*, see *nāwa*.
- ināni*, is here, stay(s) here, here (emphatic).
- inapia*, palm-leaf rib, beam.
- inar(a)*, in that case, so, for that reason; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- inawirte*, see *wirte*.
- inarēle*, see *tēle*.
- inariele*, see *tiele*.
- inasala*, see *sala*.
- ine*, say, speak; cp. *ene*.
- ini* 1, sand; *in(i)hata*, sandy beach (lit. sand-bar); *in(i)tapu*, grain of sand.
- ini* 2 = *in*.
- ino'ohai*, how to act, how to do, how, in which way; *ino'ohai na*, how to act, how do you act etc.; *ino'ohai pa*, how to act, how to behave etc.; see also G. N. I § 4 c, VIII § 2 and cp. *o'one*.
- ino'one*, see *oone*.
- inri*, we (excl.); see G. N. V § 1 a.
- inta*, *inte*, we (excl.); see G. N. V § 1 b.
- intapu*, see s. *ini* 1.
- intono*, see *tono*.
- inumarie*, see *numarie*.
- inumsaure*, see *numsaure*.
- inusa*, see *musa*.
- inut(u)*, we (excl.); see G. N. V § 1 b.
- io'one*, thus, in this way, as usual, always so; see also *o'one*.
- io'ohai*, act thus, behave in this way; *io'ohain*, acting thus; *io'ohai he*, interdiction, prohibited, taboo (lit. act not thus).
- ipa*, fall down, fall off; *ipatoro*, fallen off (of fruit), come down (of pieces of rock).
- ipa'anewe*, see *pa'anewe*.
- ipai kajare*, see *kajare*.
- ipai to jalu*, see *jalu*.
- ipi*, worm, caterpillar.
- ira* 1, water; *ira adan*, the women of the village (who fetch water and wood); *ira ahahe*, wade through the water, move over the

- water; *ira āni*, there is water, provided with water, watery; *ira apra*, the other side of the water; *ira haise*, scoop water, draw water; *ira he*, well; *ira ia*, the lower course of a river, downstream (water-foot); *ira ina*, spring, well (water-eye); *ira jaitapul*, upper course (head) of a river; *ira jaitapul o'onsohole*, sail upstream (in the direction of the water-head); *ira lapai*, river; *ira lowai*, deep puddle, pool (long (water)); *ira muduhe*, cross a river, a lake and suchlike; *ira o'o*, mouth of a river; *ira pai*, cook porridge (lit. make water); *ira petil*, tadpole; *ira ra*, hot water; *ira rekse*, wade through the water, cleave the water, cross; *ira tei aluana*, pulpit (the place of tabooed water); *ira tei me unut nahere*, Christian, christianize, baptize (lit. tabooed water put on top of skull); *ira timin me darane*, broil (lit. in hot water broil); *ira timin me idarane*, be broiled, broil itself; *ira timnu*, boil water; *irira*, porridge.
- ira* 2, pay the marriage-gift; *iran*, marriage-gift.
- irakete*, itching, lecherous, lustful.
- irane*, sunk away, perished (of a ship), finished, done; synonym of *saille*.
- iratatu*, blue; *iratatu memraka hitin itawase*, black and blue (lit. blue, red, white mixed up).
- irau*, see *rau*.
- ira'u*, crushed, scattered, pulverized, dissolved, gone.
- irawali*, plantation, garden.
- ire*, wait; *anire*, wait for.
- irhene*, see s. *isa* 3 (*isatapu irhene*).
- iri* 1, urine, excrements; *ir(i)se*, urinate.
- iri* 2, old female (of animals).
- iri* 3, *iri* 1, is here (pronominal particle); see G. N. IV § 1 b, d.
- iri* 4, so, so then; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- iri* 2, you (plur.); see G. N. V § 1 a.
- irik*, see s. *uma* (the expression *uma irik uma dau*).
- irim(i)* 1, forest, bush; *irim hoho*, forest-pigeon (Mal. *tekukur*); (*irim*) *hoho* is also used for "coo"; *iririmi*, brushwood.
- irim(i)* 2, old; father's sister; father's brother's wife; *irim(i) hain(i)*, parents-in-law.
- irio*, but then, then however; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- irira*, see s. *ira* 1.
- irise*, see *iri* 1.
- iro* 1, arrive, to, as far as, as soon as, after having . . ; *iro he*, unlimited.
- iro* 2, but.
- irse*, see *iri* 1.
- irua*, see *rua*.
- isa* 1, burn, put fire to.
- isa* 2, a little, something, part of; *isaje*, a part of it (them); *isa me inina*, give us (excl.) a little (part) of it; see also *nisa*.
- isa* 3, heart, core, contents; *isa aha-hara he*, hopeless; *isa ahararane*, longing, yearning; *isa arutu*, greedy, desirous; *isa arutun*, greediness, desire; *isa ehehen nae*, sob, sobbing; *isa elewe*, out of heart, dejected, despondent; *isa hanate*, have pity, have mercy, compassionate; *anisa hanate*, have pity on, etc.; *ante ue na(n)-isahanate*, I have mercy upon him; *isa huhule*, loathe, be sick,

nauseated; *isahuna*, in the middle of, during, in the course of; while; *isisahuna*, while; *isa iliare*, grow faint-hearted, despond; *isa kahare*, desire, be desirous of (especially of the desires after certain kinds of food during pregnancy); *isa lōlo he*, anxious, worrying; *isa malare*, furious, offended, suspicious, jealous, vindictive; *ue an'nanisamalare*, he is offended with me etc.; *isa pai malare*, offend, make angry etc.; *isa manre*, restrain oneself, govern one's passions; *isamhalu* (= *isa eme halu*), repent, regret; *isa menluku*, address kindly, reprove kindly; *isa muduni*, keep secret, conceal; in the heart; *isa mudunin(i)*, secret, wish, purpose, desire; to my (your etc.) knowledge; *isa pai na'u lolo he*, be uneasy about; *isa pinit(e)luku*, console, inspire with courage; *isa pinit lukun*, who consoles, consoler etc.; *isa seile*, hold out, constraint oneself; *isatapu*, breast, heart; *isatapu anaje*, weigh, think it over; *isatapu irhene*, oppressed, short-breathed (cp. *isa ehehen*); *isatapu nanate*, abhor, shudder (cp. *nate*); *isatapu pai*, serve as a keepsake, make a keepsake; *isatapu ruru*, be moved, affected; *isaturaja*, sleep very soundly (cp. *taja*); *isa tutu*, like, want to, be willing; *isa tutu he*, averse from, not want to, not be willing (cp. *isa arutu*); *isa tuurana*, difficulty, objection (cp. *tu'ure*); *isa tuuture*, aversion; *isa umumu*, forgetful, forgetful person (cp. *umu*); *isa uru*, breast (cp. *uru(h) ?*); *isawale*, gift (out of charity); *isawale*, generous, free-handed, chari-

table; *isa wara*, at ease, content, like; *isa waran*, contentedness, affection; *isa wawara*, have fun, amuse oneself; sympathetic; *isa pai wara*, move one's heart, put at ease, inspire with sympathy, satisfy.

*isaledin*, see *saledin*.

*isana'a*, often.

*isare*, see *sare* 2.

*isarsuile*, see *suile*.

*isetre*, see *setre*.

*isine*, perhaps.

*isisawale*, see *s. isa* 3.

*iskap*, plane (from Holl. *schaaf*).

*iskolo*, school (Holl. *school*); *iskolo modora*, pupils (school-children).

*iskrup*, screw (Holl. *schroef*).

*iskui*, small boat (Holl. *schuit*).

*iskuniar*, schooner (Holl. *schoener*, Mal. *sekunar*).

*ita*, each other (pronominal prefix); see G. N. V § 4.

*ita(a)*, near, near by, towards, from (verbal prefix and postposition); see G. N. I § 4 a, VIII § 1 a.

*ita'a'arau*, see *rau*.

*ita'a'arukate*, see *rukate*.

*ita'adawa'in*, see *wa'i*.

*ita'adawajamai*, see *wajamai*.

*ita'ahure*, see *ahure*.

*ita'aluttre*, see *lutur*.

*ita'anaje*, see *anaje*.

*ita'asukorore*, see *korore*.

*ita'ata'a*, see *taa*.

*itadari*, our (incl.) army, followers; this *ita*, which corresponds to Mal. *kita*, is not Oirata.

*itadawa'in* = *itaadawa'in*.

*itadudle*, wage war against each other.

*ita'etekaure*, see *kaure*.

*ita(hat)hati*, see *hati*.

*itahotun*, see *hotun*.

*itai(a)iahe*, see *s. ia* 1.

- ita'ima = ima.  
 itakada, see kada.  
 itakamate, see kamate.  
 itakasu, see kasu.  
 itaku, tobacco (Mal. *tembakau*).  
 italeten, see lete 1.  
 italiaren, see liare.  
 italukun, see luku.  
 itame punu, see punu.  
 itamenhakane, see hakane.  
 itami'e, see mi'e.  
 itamire, see mire.  
 itamud'keile, see keile.  
 itanadule, fasten for each other;  
     see s. lau.  
 itanamatu, see matu.  
 itanania, see nania.  
 itananiahata = iahata.  
 itanasin, together.  
 itanasul'he, see sulhe.  
 itanatarate, see tarate.  
 itanautoro, keep a cock-fight.  
 itana'uate, see uate.  
 itane, stay together, near by.  
 itanere, see nere.  
 itanerenate, see nate.  
 itanernere, see nere.  
 ita'o'one, see oone.  
 itapate, see pate.  
 itapēni, close together.  
 itaru, see wajamai.  
 itasdūre, see dūre.  
 itaseile, see seile.  
 itaseri = itadari.  
 itas'hai, noise, rumour, confusion.  
 itasis'soli, see soli.  
 itaskamate, see kamate.  
 itasluku, see luku.  
 itasmara, see mara.  
 itasnaworo, see naworo.  
 itasnōre, see ōre.  
 itasrapa, see tapa.  
 itasruale, see ruale.  
 itatāle, see tāle.  
 itatapale, see tapa.  
 itatatane, see tatane.  
 itatatan'kaure, see kaure.  
 itatumuen, see tumue.  
 itatutue, see tutue.  
 itaure, swarm.  
 itawalie'e, wage war against each  
     other.  
 itawāsdida, see wāse.  
 itawāskono, see wāse.  
 ite, you (plur.); see G.N. V § 1 b.  
 it'hemara, see mara.  
 itiai, quite inside, deeply in.  
 itih, big tortoise; *ititih*, a tortoise  
     that during the rainy season lives  
     in pools.  
 itim, itin, bottom, posteriors, the  
     lowest or deepest part of some-  
     thing; *itin(i)*, lower half of a  
     coconut shell; *itin sura*, search at  
     the bottom, below.  
 it'koikoite, wipe off (tears).  
 itoho, see toho.  
 itono, see tonon.  
 ito'one, see oone.  
 it'rane, see rane.  
 itu = ite.  
 iuate, see uate.  
 iuste, iwste, see uste.  
 iutnene, see ne and (e)ne.  
 iwak(i)le, see wak(i)le.

## J

- jaitapul(u), head, death-head, skull;  
     *jaitapul hanate*, dizzy, dizziness,  
     head-ache; *jaitapul opo*, skull;  
     *jaitapul karhou* (better: *karhou*  
     *jaitapul*), stubborn; *jaitapul lapai*,  
     stubborn, headstrong.  
 jajamoi, see jamoi.  
 jajāni, see jāni.

**jajawani**, see **jawani**.

**jala**, acquire; *jalana*, what has been acquired (= *enēne jalana*); *ajala*, try to meet, intend to conclude an alliance.

**jalu**, male, manly, courageous; *jalun*, who is (are) manly etc.; *ipai to jalu*, summon courage, take heart.

**jamoi**, rise (also of the sun etc.), go up, climb, ascend; *wadu jamoini*, rising-place of the sun, East; *jajamoi*, keep rising, rise continually or repeatedly; *najamoi*, rise from; *ime jamoi*, brag, boast, pride oneself.

**jāni**, good, all-right (expressing assent), true, fine, thanks!; *jāni ha*, had better..., the best thing to do is (often used in exactly the same sense as Mal. *baiklah*); also: please!; *jajāni*, beautiful, very good, delicious, costly, precious; *jajānin*, who (what) is beautiful etc., beauty etc.; *na'u jāni*, many thanks, cp. *na'u-(n)(i)*; *jānin watae*, make sure of, ascertain; *was jāni*, as well (much) as possible; *pai to jāni*, improve.

**japi**, feast.

**japin**, character, behaviour, custom, model, example; see also **wulun**.

**jara**, real, true.

**jarala**, **jarale**, parentless, orphan; **jarala susun**, foster-brother or -sister.

**jau**, ceremonial feast with dancing and singing (= *horok*), Porka.

**jauale**, **jawale** 1, upper part, skin.

**jauale** 2, marry (of a man); *jaualen iar narane*, grown-up, marriageable (lit. coming on the marriage-road).

**jaulika**, hair of the head; *jaulika*

*nate*, hair standing erect.

**jaure**, sleep.

**jawan**, crowd, many people together.

**jawan(i)**, good; *jajawanin(i)*, who are very good, quite good; being very good etc.; peace, prosperity, safety; *jawani* is also used in the sense of religious worship, ritual; *jawanin muduni*, well-being, inner peace, contentedness; *jawanin pai*, make peace, satisfy; *pai jawani*, mediate, act as a mediator; *pai to rō jawani*, make peace, reconcile; *jawani uste*, perform religious rites (lit. ask well-being etc.).

**je** = **ie** and **jejen(i)**.

**jehainene**, see **jejhaine**.

**jehen(i)**, parentless, orphan.

**jejhaine**, different (not the same); *jehainene*, whose ... are different.

**jejen(i)**, self, alone, only; see G. N. IV § 1 e.

**jejenamanan**, by troops (each troop by itself).

**jemalare**, see **malare**.

**jerane**, see **rane**.

**jerapale**, see **rapale**.

**jere**, a tree and its nuts: *Canarium commune* (Mal. *kenari*).

**jesute**, see **malare**.

**jēte**, lie down, sleep; *ajēte*, sleep or lie on; *ha'ajēte*, lie back, recline; *najēte*, lie on; *unajēte*, lie there; see also s. **nere**.

**jete**, on, above.

**jewa'i**, see **wa'i**.

**jewaje**, far away; *ime jewaje*, go away, withdraw, move off.

**jo**, see **o**.

**jokojoko**, shake (this word is not every-day Oirata; old-fashioned or foreign).

**jō(ni)**, far, far away, few and far

between, thinly spread, scarce;  
*ime jōni*, go away, move off;  
*jojōni*, nadir.

*jo'ohai* = *io'ohai*.  
*josuile*, see *suile*.  
*jo'uale*, see *uale*.

## K

**ka(ka)**, a man's brother, elder brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son; a woman's sister's husband's sister; elder, eldest; *an'no'o an'ka*, my family; *kakara*, *karara*, *kara*, elder brothers, sisters etc.; *kakel*, term of address used in speaking to the above-mentioned relatives; *kaka hahu*, ancestors.  
**kada**, comrade, companion; *kada taru*, comrade, helper; *itakada*, be comrades, associate with each other, accompany each other.  
**kadai**, litter, stretcher.  
**kadane 1**, put away, hide.  
**kadane 2**, old (of all kinds of living beings).  
**kadere**, chair (Amb. Mal. *kadera* from Spanish-Port. *cadera*, *cadeira*).  
**kaduk**, sack.  
**kahare**, spoil, spoiled, bad; *kaharana*, spoiled, bad; *pai to kahare*, spoil, break up, pull down.  
**kaharlain**, a kind of magpie (Mal. *murai*).  
**kaharluku**, see *luku*.  
**kaharne**, calumniate, slander; cp. (e)ne.  
**kailese**, throw, fling; *arakaillese*, throw, fling down (*patiens plur.*).  
**kailihaliha**, fire-fly.  
**kaimu**, break, broken.  
**kairoko**, **akairoko**, break.  
**kaisala**, cotton, cotton thread.  
**kaise**, see *kūle*.  
**kaite**, crooked, bent.

**kaiwata**, cover or surround with fire for cooking (the food itself or the pot in which it is to be cooked), cook, roast; *kaiwatana*, cooked, roasted etc.  
**kajar(a)**, tired; *kajaren*, fatigue; *kajar me imore*, rest oneself; *ipai kajare*, take trouble, exert oneself; *was kajare*, grief, distress, misery.  
**kaka**, see *ka(ka)*.  
**kakale**, butt (with the horns).  
**kakalua**, see s. oo 2.  
**kakāse**, see *kās(e)*.  
**kaki**, wound; *pai kaki*, to wound; *kaki harsaine*, very dangerous or fatal wound; *kaki mahunana*, bad wound.  
**kalaka(n)(a)**, accuse, denounce; *kalakain pain*, accuser; *kalakan sala*, accuse falsely.  
**kalete**, see *holete*.  
**kalkali**, rice (plant and grains), *kalkali pau*, husk of rice.  
**kamar(a)**, room, chamber (Mal. *kamar* from Holl. *kamer*).  
**kamat**, shark.  
**kamate**, take hold of; *itakamate*, take hold of each other; *itaskamate*, dishevel one's hairs.  
**kāmete**, span (of thumb and middle-finger).  
**kamir**, tannin and the plants from which it is drawn (Mal. *gambir*).  
**kampia**, goods from a shop or a trader (not home-made); e.g. *kampia lau*, sarung or cloth from a shop; cp. Port. *cambiar*, exchange.

- kantor(o)**, office (Mal. *kantor*, Holl. *kantoor*).
- kapa, kape'en(e), kapa'en(e)**, eight; see G. N. III.
- kapal**, boat, ship; *kapal ia tana*, rigging (lit. ship's feet and hands); *kapal aramaramaran*, ferry boat (from Mal. *kapal*).
- kapalsu**, clan-chief (from Mal. *kepala soa*); the native word is *pada palana*.
- kapare 1**, many.
- kapare 2**, misery, distress, misfortune, ruin; *kaparana*, miserable, wretched; *akapare*, come to grief (misery) over; *pai(to)kapare*, to ruin.
- kapete**, see *kopete*.
- kapi**, piece, fragment, lump.
- kaprepele**, see *tepele*.
- kara(ra)**, see *ka*.
- karakara**, slime, mucus.
- karakararana**, see *karare 1*.
- karakarare**, see *karare 1*.
- karapasu, karapusa**, caul; *karapusa jau*, born with a caul (from Port. *carapuça*); cp. also *karare 2*.
- karare 1**, bite, rend, rent; *karare houte*, rent from top to bottom; *pai karare*, tear to pieces; *karakararana*, rent all over, very shabby; *karakarare*, worn out entirely, rent all over; *was karare*, in rags, to rags.
- karare 2**, envelop, enfold.
- karete**, vehicle on wheels (Mal. *kereta*, Port. *carreta*).
- kar'hou**, the well-known domesticated buffalo (Mal. *kerbau*).
- karin**, flower-stalk of the cocopalms, from which the sap is tapped.
- karna**, South; *karna timur*, South-east.
- kartās**, paper (Mal. *kertas*, Port. *cartaz*); see also *tarkāsa*.
- kās(e)**, thirsty, thirst; *kās(a)*, thirst; *kakāse*, saltish, brackish; see also s. *ma'a*.
- kasaru**, order, bid; send, despatch (a messenger), delegate; *kasaru to mara*, despatch, delegate; *kasaru pēnu*, decline, turn away (lit. send back); *kasakasaru(n)*, messenger; delegate, envoy; *kasakasarana*, messenger, envoy; message; *urakasaru*, send back.
- kasin 1**, gift, present.
- kasin 2**, top (plaything) (Mal. *gasing*).
- kaskasu**, see *kasu(n)*.
- kasu(n)**, debt, vow, promise; *kasun āni*, be in debt, owe; *kasun nadouren*, dunning (for payment); *itakasu*, be enemies to each other; *kaskasu*, be enemies to each other; *eme ina to kasu*, make somebody contract debts by selling to him on credit (lit. give so that there is debt).
- kasueri**, the casuarina-tree (Mal. *kasuari*, Sp. *casuarina*); its leaves are eaten as vegetables.
- kasura**, dregs, sediment.
- kataje 1**, laugh.
- kataje 2**, tired.
- katal soli**, see *katalu* and *soli*.
- katalu**, grip, pinch (between finger and thumb); pincers; squeeze, narrow; what is held, warded; ward.
- katama**, a part of the weaving-loom.
- katamu**, pinch, pinched.
- kau**, perform rites, especially for the increase and prosperity of the clan and lineage.
- kaune**, broken, germinate, bud forth, full-blown, burst open, explode; *kaunen*, which is broken etc.; *kaunoro*, opened, budded



forth etc.; *kaunoron*, which is opened etc.; *kaunu*, piece, fragment, lump; trunk, headless corpse.

**kaurana**, see **kaure** 1.

**kaure** 1, dig, scratch the ground (of birds); *kaurana*, what has been dug, hole; *uma kaurana*, hole in the ground.

**kaure** 2, hold, take hold of; *akaure*, keep, act according to (e.g. a promise); *arakaure*, pick up from the ground (lit. pick up below); *etekaure*, stop, cease, leave alone; *unanetekaure*, leave there; *etekaure he*, continually, ceaselessly; *ita'etekaure he*, be faithful to each other; *mede(mede)kaure*, lift up, gather up, tuck up; *na-kaure*, take there.

**kausa**, saliva; *kausa āni*, run at the mouth, slabber.

**kawar**, cover, covering.

**kawas(a)**, shroud (= *wetur*; usually: *wetur kawas*); snake-skin (which has been cast off).

**kawene**, hitch, stick fast.

**keile**, stick fast, meet with difficulties; *akeile*, stick fast, hitch on; *adkeile*, stick fast; *itamudkeile le maina*, make a fixed arrangement with each other; *nisaun akeile he*, stick fast on nothing (i.e. be safe, in peace).

**keite**, knock off (e.g. fruit with a pole).

**kēk(e)**, lobster.

**kē(kē)le**, laugh, deride, shout with laughter.

**kelekele**, finger ring; see also s. **wata**.

**keles**, nail, claw; *kelese*, clutch (of a bird of prey); *timin kelese*, persevere, stand, hold out (keep hold of strongly); see also s. **mani**.

**kemene**, dark; *was kemene*, mist (very dark, too dark).

**kepte tarate**, perish or be in danger of perishing, e.g. by a flood (lit. moved and frightened).

**kēre** 1, ladder, notches in stems to be used as steps; *kērkupa*, rung of a ladder.

**kēre** 2, marriage, marry; *itanakēre*, marry with each other, intermarry.

**keri**, stripe; *kerin pai*, to stripe.

**kesi**, fixed, constant, lasting (= *tara*); *akesi alar(i)n(i)*, settle down somewhere for good, having taken root in (on); also: be worshipped; *inakesi inalarini*, having taken root there.

**kesir**, palm-leaf rib.

**kesu**, ?

**kete**, stem, stick, stave; a part of the weaving-loom.

**ketele**, branch, bough.

**kikilai**, small young.

**kikre**, afraid, fear, be afraid (of); *pai (to) kikre*, make afraid, intimidate; *maro kikrana*, coward.

**kilate**, clear, light, glowing, glow; *kilakilate*, glitter, twinkle, look like fires; spotlessly clean; *kilakilatana*, which glitters, twinkles, twinkling; *paikilate*, cleanse, make clean.

**kirakira**, thought, opinion, remembrance, attention, purpose, intention, understanding, deliberation, judgment; think, suppose, remember etc.; *kirakira anaje*, consider, think something over; *kirakira inamara*, having lost hope, hopeless; *kirakira isatapu nāni*, keep the remembrance of; *kirakira itas-mara*, anxious, uneasy; *kirakira jajāni*, generous, free-handed; *kirakira lōlo*, upright, honest;

- kirakiram* (= *kirakiran*) *pai*, have the opinion; *kirakirampunmore*, to confederate, conspire, ally; *kirakirampunmoren*, conspirator, confederate, ally; *kirakira mule*, without hope; mistaken; fainted; *kirakira nāni*, have at heart, look after; *kirakira najēte he*, grossly indecent, incest (not to be thought of); *kirakira odoe*, understand (cp. *odo* 3); *kirakira odole*, getting an idea; *kirakira pai*, give a keepsake; *kirakira talat*, remind one of; *kirakira uhan*, orderly, punctual, exact; *akirakira*, think, be of opinion; *akirakiran*, thought, opinion; *ante akirakira*, in my opinion; *etekirakira*, be mistaken, be wrong, have a wrong opinion.
- kirikiri**, see **adakirikiri**.
- kise**, chew (sugar-cane).
- kise**, bite.
- kita** 1, order, commandment; *kita adahale*, accept orders, obey; *kita wari he*, recalcitrate, be disobedient.
- kita** 2, a kind of clotch (Tim. Mal. *tjita* from Holl. *sits*); *kita inamodo*, clotch printed with certain patterns (Tim. Mal. *kain tjita*); *kitakita*, small flag, pendant.
- kodo**, box, small space partitioned off, garret; *loron kodo*, the highest part of a cape; see also **utkodo**.
- kōdo**, big dog-lice.
- kodore**, wealthy; *kodoren*, who is wealthy; *kodoren(i)*, *kodoren(e)*, wealth, property.
- kohil(i) dolon(o)**, layer, story (the two words have the same meaning and are always used together).
- koho**, corn-cob.
- koholasa**, chest, box, trunk.
- koholiawaren**, monkey.
- kokis**, bread (Amb. Mal. *kukis* from Holl. *koekjes*, small cakes).
- kokoho**, cackle (of hens).
- kokote**, rapids; stream rapidly.
- kōkote**, cackle (of hens).
- kokowulu**, conical basket in which rice is steamed (Mal. *kukusan*).
- kolewe**, embrace; encompass with the hand; *kolewen auni*, one embrace with the arms, one grip with the hand (measures) (= *horonkolewen auni*, cp. **horo**); *isauru kolewe*, cross one's arms (lit. embrace the breast).
- kolo**, sea-egg: Holothuriodea (Mal. *teripang*).
- kolokolo**, bamboo with a hole in it, used as a drum.
- kolom**, wooden sandals.
- konis**, key, keyhole, button, button-hole; *konis na*, keyhole, button-hole; *konis modo*, key, button.
- kono**, take up, take along, load in a boat; *kono le tai apra mara*, take across, ferry over (lit. take along and go across the sea); *arakono*, pick up and take down; *me arakono*, disembark; *pun(u)-kono*, collect (e.g. wood, fruit).
- konor**, curcuma.
- kopete kapete**, entirely black, pitchy black; *kopeten kapeten*, who (which) is pitchy black.
- kopo**, fold.
- koron(e)**, young, unripe.
- korore**, fart; *ifa'asukorore*, be farting all together.
- korose**, wash, clean.
- kortel, kortēle**, skull, death-head.
- kōte**, vomit.
- koto** 1, lineage (subdivision of a clan) (Amb. Mal. *mata rumah*).
- koto** 2, narrate, relate, talk.
- kotonana**, arranged, tied in its place.

**koukoure**, see **koure**.

**koune**, dark, darkness; *was koune*, pitch dark, mist; *pai le koune*, darken, make dark, cause that (there is) darkness.

**koure**, bark, yap; *koukoure*, bark, yap; resound; bark or sound continually or repeatedly.

**kua**, scrape, rasp, grate; *kuakuan*, grater, rasp.

**kuale**, cough.

**kuar**, anchor.

**kuare**, hump, hump-backed, curbed.

**kuasapale**, man in power (lit. who holds power; *kuasa* is Malay).

**kuda**, horse (Mal.); *kudakuda*, prop, support (Mal.).

**kude**, transfer, swing round, turn round; *ikude*, turn round (one-self).

**kui(kui)**, a kind of pigeon (Mal. *burung dara*, Tim. Mal. *tjui*).

**kui(kui)le**, close(d); *ina(mod)o(kui)le*, close one's eyes, closed eyes, closed his eyes (died).

**kuire**, scratch.

**kuise**, blind; *kuikuisana*, who are blind.

**kukewe**, pinch between the nails.

**kukruke**, crow (of a cock); *kukruken*, who crows; *kukukruke*, crow repeatedly or continually; *kūkruke*, crow continually.

**kuku**, dumb.

**kula 1**, friend, comrade; see also **hele**.

**kula 2**, sugar.

**kūle**, whistle (with the mouth); *kūle kaise*, bustle, noise.

**kulur**, breadfruit tree.

**kumu**, hairdress, coiffure (= *wata kumu*).

**kupa**, finger, toe; *kupa kelekele*, ring-finger; *kupa lapai*, thumb, big toe; *kupa nokonoko*, little finger (toe); *kupa ultuanin*, middle-finger; *kupa walurun*, fore-finger.

**kupan**, money; *kupan kartas*, paper currency; *kupan uprara*, guilder (lit. whole or complete money); *kupan tapu auni*, one piece of money; *kupan mamamuka*, ready money; *kupan pain(i)*, goods, property, possessions (lit. which makes money).

**kupnin**, Company (the Hollandish government).

**kuran**, wanting etc. (has the same meaning as Mal. *kurang*); *kurana*, decrease, diminish; *kuran he*, not wanting, nothing amiss.

**kurin**, tree-bark that is cooked together with yarn to dye it.

**kurse**, crease, crumple, wrinkled; *pai kurse*, to crease, crumple.

**kurukese**, prepare (cook) vegetables.

**kusi**, large earthenware pot.

**kusilarin**, a kind of corklike root-wood used to sharpen knives with.

## L

**la**, fly's egg.

**la'an**, use, usefulness; *laanije*, be of use, useful.

**lada 1**, cost, expenses.

**lada 2**, Malay.

**lada 3**, Holland, Hollandish (from Mal. *Belanda*); *lada mamakili*, potatoe (lit. Hollandish tuber).

**lahisu**, rumpled (of fruit), faded.

**lai**, **laje**, cut (objects), prick, stab (human beings or animals); *lalaje*, cut, stab continually or repeatedly.

**laike**, throw, throw away (cp. *kaillese*).

**lailaine**, bearing, attitude, posture.

*la'ine*, see *pu'ine*.

*laire*, flame, be aflame; *lairana*, flaming, aflame; *lailairana*, sparkling; *lailaire*, flame continually, repeatedly; *pai to laire*, cause to flame.

*laite* 1, old (of human beings); *laite*, *lalaite*(e), quite old.

*laite* 2, lace, close by lacing.

*laje*, see *lai*.

*lajere*, lightning and thunder.

*lakalaka*, prop, support.

*lakarau*, place between the branches or cleft in a trunk or big branch.

*lakate*, lean; *lakaten*, *lakatana*, being lean, who (which) is lean.

*laki*, claw, talon; scratch.

*lakpadi*, milt.

*lakte*, spout, squirt; *mal(u)lakte*, spout out, squirt out.

*laku*, draw; *aralaku*, water-fall, rapid.

*lalan*, the others, other (plur.).

*lalore*, see *lare*.

*lalu*, knuckle, joint, juncture.

*lalun*, wave; *lalun āni*, to wave; *lalumpitu* = *lalun pitu*, seven waves.

*lamane*, shady, abounding in trees.

*lamatu*, shady.

*lāna*, during, successively.

*lāne*, separate, divide.

*lapai*, large, big, great; *was lapai*, too big, too violent (of rain).

*lapan(e)*, *lapani*, much, many, all; *lapalapane*, abundant; *was lapane*, more, most, abundant.

*lapur(u)*, fire-stones; *lapur nantere*, put on the fire (to be cooked); cp. *etere*.

*lar*, heart; *lar me ina*, to love; *lar uani*, love, loving each other (lit. one heart).

*lār*, sail.

*laran*, see *s. la'u*.

*lare* 1, go, walk, tread, travel (by land or by sea); *a'alore*, tread upon; *uku ketele a'alore*, injured, overcome by somebody's supernatural powers (lit. having trodden upon thorny branches); *a'aklare*, see *uma*; *aralare*, tread down, push down with one's feet; *adalare*, go to meet, meet with; *nalare*, visit, travel to; *nerenlare*, walk, travel near, travel behind, follow travelling; *umarlare*, go (travel) in front; *uralare*, go (travel) back; *pan(u)lare*, go on, travel on, migrate; *laren*, travelling, who travels, journey; *mal(u)lare*, go out; *ualare*, fail to come at the arranged time, take by surprise; see also *uralare*, *utlare*.

*lare* 2, sad, sorrowful, anxious.

*larin(i)*, root; *larin ahamu*, uproot; *larin lapai*, spout; *inalarini*, see *kesi*.

*larmamata*, rainbow.

*larun*, millepede.

*lasūn*, onion.

*lata* 1, wooden enclosure, cage, sty etc.; *lata āni*, have a wooden enclosure; *lata pai*, enclose.

*lata* 2, marriage, marry; synonym of *kēre*; usually: *kēre lata*.

*latun*, poison; *latun me uda*, kill with poison.

*la'u*, cloth or sarung; *la'ula'u*, bed; *la'u hitin*, white cloth; *la'u pai*, weave; *la'upanu me itanadule ja'ulika watalika itanadule*, contract a solid friendship or alliance (lit. fasten or tie each other's clothes and each other's hair); *la'u uta*, weave; *la'u me soso*, swab, wipe off with a piece of cloth; *kampia la'u*, see *kampia*; *laran la'u*, old-fashioned, home-

- made sarung or cloth; *la'uwa'at*, clothes-basket.
- lauan**, **lawan**, gold; *lawan kaure*, dig up gold; *lawan paipain*, goldsmith; *lawan tututen*, goldsmith; *lawan mua*, gold-land.
- lauare**, **lauara**, black, dark, deep; see also *s. uma*.
- la'ui**, crocodile.
- la'ula'u**, see *la'u*.
- laulau**, shout with laughter.
- laulauru**, ?
- laulausana**, see *lause*.
- laulause**, see *lause*.
- laune**, arrange, make an arrangement.
- lauratu**, see *uhur*.
- lause**, live, grow, thrive; feed, regale; *lausen*, who lives etc., living etc.; *laulause*, sacrifice; *lausana*, feast, entertainment; *laulausana*, living, living beings; life, soul; *lausana pai*, take care of, feed, regale; *lausana jajāni*, luxuriant, thriving; *lausoro*, living, alive, safe; *pai to lause*, cause to live, bring to life; *inalaulausana*, animals, living beings (whatever is living); *nalause*, grow on; *panlaulausana*, from generation to generation.
- lawa**, plant-louse (= *dedelawa*).
- lawan**, see *lauan*.
- lawar**, cover; nest-basket for fowls.
- le** 1, particle with various functions; see *G. N. VIII § 2*.
- le** 2, *lē*, house (in the village); also: house in the sense of lineage; *le a'alamana*, household; *le ara*, house-skirt; *le mara*, go home; *le laulauare*, prison (dark house); lid, cover.
- le'ele'e**, naughty.
- le'eria**, coral.
- lehe**, dentated, notched.
- lehen**, sail; *lehen āni*, have a sail.
- lehen(e)**, crossways; *lehen ne*, revile, jeer (lit. speak crossways).
- lehere**, fine, costly, precious.
- lehu**, carry (by means of a stick over the shoulder); *lehun(u)*, carrying-stick; wooden spear; *tua lehun(u)*, spear of lontar-wood.
- lei**, pumpkin, gourd.
- leia**, **leija**, loft, attic.
- lekene**, slightly built, slender, supple; *pai to lekelekene*, switch, swish.
- lekro**, scoop.
- leku**, field.
- lelere**, fermented coconut milk.
- leleu**, see *s. wata*.
- lemre**, crooked, bent.
- lene**, throw; *arālene*, throw down; *unalene*, throw down there.
- lēn(e)**, sky, clouds; *lēnara*, sky-tree; *lēnu*, fly, rise to the sky; *lēnuaruan*, the world of man (lit. sitting under the sky).
- lera'a**, land (in distinction to sea, water).
- lēre** 1, come to anchor, land (= *nalēre*).
- lēre** 2, be in sorrow, pray for help.
- lere** 1, roll, welter; *lere lere*, lie down.
- lere** 2, mast.
- leren(e)** 1, carpenter's line.
- leren(e)** 2, a man's sister, daughter of father's brother, d. of father's sister, d. of mother's brother, d. of mother's sister, sister's husband's sister.
- ler'he**, sail towards land; turn land inward.
- lerleru**, naked.
- lernasi**, sail towards land.
- lese**, poor.
- les pai**, read (Holl. *lees*, read; *les*, lesson).

- lēt**, between, among; **letana**, between, middle, interstice; *uma letana*, see *uma*; *lētsoli*, stay between, amidst.
- lete**, differ, different, difference; *italete(n)*, different (from each other); *letelete* 1, many different, many.
- letelete** 2, tale, narrative; *leteleten pai*, narrate.
- letu** = *le etu*, and then, thereupon.
- leuharu**, widow; cp. *lita*, *halu*.
- leul(u)**, song; *leule*, sing.
- leupau**, women's luggage, fruit-basket; in the fixed expression: *winanpau leupau*, women's luggage; cp. *winan*.
- leura**, flesh, meat; *leura replana*, sun-dried meat.
- lēwe**, twist, coil.
- lewene**, escape.
- lewer**, see s. *sarawa'ata*.
- leweru**, spread out.
- lewet(e)**, measure, institution, law; to measure out.
- lewur**, wet rice-field.
- lia**, hair (of body or head); *lia nate*, hairs standing on end.
- liare**, change(d), transforme(d); repent, be converted; *liare selre*, repent; *liaren naware*, understand; *liarnen*, meaning, significance; *liare pa (pai?)*, turn round; *aliare*, translate; *iliare*, turn round, return, turn back; change, be transformed; *ilia iliare*, upside down, tumble, fall head over heels; *pai pain liare (selre)*, repent, change one's ways; *italiaren wo*, catch, song and counter-song; *italiaren wo pai*, sing song and counter-song; *naliare*, change, transform, create.
- liha**, see s. *we*.
- lihanu**, flat (of country).
- lilindaidaine**, firmly locked.
- lilnatanata**, violent heat (from the sun).
- lilte**, pile, stack.
- limar(a)**, file; *limare*, file, polish.
- limi**, lime'en(e), five; see G. N. III.
- limping**, a flat, rectangular piece of some stuff (cake, tobacco etc.; Mal. *lemping*).
- limu**, lemon (Holl. *limoen*).
- line**, **linu**, calmed down (of wind); *utline*, quite still, calm.
- lirlirhu**, wave, float (of a flag).
- lita**, sirih-bag, sirih-basket; *lita-haru*, widow.
- liu** 1, debt, be in debt, make a vow; *liu kasun(u)*, debt(s).
- liu** 2, puddle, pool; cavity in a big stone or rock filled with seawater from which is gained salt.
- lodon(o)**, rotan; *lodonara*, rotan-tree; *lodon(o) taru*, being like brothers and sisters, a relation that excludes marriage (lit. rotan-rope).
- loi**, roll.
- loira**, illness, disease.
- loire**, put away, hide, shut away, shut up; *loiloire*, hide (oneself); *loiren pai*, hide; *loirana mara*, go or act secretly; *loiloirana*, hidden away; concubine; *iloiloire*, hide oneself, act in secret.
- loje**, stretch, spread; *loje loje*, scattered; *iloje*, stretch oneself, stretch one's legs.
- lokde**, veer out, ease off.
- lokide**, high; *lok(i)dana*, who (what) is high.
- lokön**, notch in wood; *lokön pai*, chop, chisel.
- lokör**, a lamp-shaped ceremonial object of coco-palm leaf.
- lokör(o) asa** = **lokör**.
- lolo**, good, right, true, just, satis-



- fied; *lolo* he, bad, wrong etc.; *lolon(o)*, which (who) is good etc., being good etc.; *lolonana* = *lolon(o)*; *lolonhai*, in good health, cured; *lolonhain(i)*, being in good health, who is in good health; *pai(to) lolonhai*, cure, restore to health; *lolonhere*, arrange, arrangement; *lolonmête*, govern; *lolonpale*, govern, administer; *lolonpalen*, who governs, administrates; *lolon(o) wajan(a)*, well in already (of a certain wind), due ... already; *pai lolo*, fulfill.
- lololi**, waggon, cart; *lololi tapu*, wheel.
- lolor**, whole; *lolorana*, whole and entire (of a female pig whose tail has not been cut off); *lolorina*, straight; *lolorina he*, crooked, bent; *itaa lolorina itaa sulare*, become equals, merge into one caste.
- lolos**, pigskin.
- lōn(o)**, medicine, antidote; *lōne*, apply medicine, antidote; cure.
- lonia pai**, predict; *lonia pain*, predictor.
- lo'or(o)**, sword; *lo'or patun*, small sword (lit. sword tendon).
- lōr**, see: *lōra'a*, at the seaside, at sea, from sea; *lōr'he*, travel on the sea, embark; *lōr nasi*, look towards the sea.
- lori** 1, pond, puddle; *ilori*, wallow in a puddle.
- lori** 2, wind, wind round.
- lōrin**, booty, prisoner of war; see also s. **momor**.
- loro** 1, scratch, stripe; *loronpai*, to scratch, to stripe.
- loro** 2, perform religious rites.
- lōro**, heavy (of rain).
- loron**, cape; *loron kodo*, see **kodo**.
- lorsamaren**, booty, prisoner of war.
- losire**, sail or row along the coast.
- losir(i)**, spear, lance.
- loso** 1, sty, pen, cage.
- loso** 2, choice; choose; *loson pai*, make a choice.
- losre** = **losire**.
- losropo**, backbone.
- losu**, large sailing- or rowing-boat; *losu ratu*, master of the boat, captain; *losu panu*, prow; *losu rei*, put a boat aground; *losu taru*, towing-rope.
- lot**, much, many.
- lowai**, long, deep, high; *lowai lapain*, person of high standing.
- lua**, monkey; *lua panu oone*, hollow-cheeked (lit. like a monkey face); *lua umumun ale*, morbid mimicry (lit. struck by dead monkeys; a nervous affection called *latah* in Mal.); *a'alua*, jest, joke; *aaluan*, jester, joker.
- luale**, pinch between thumb and finger.
- lualua**, spider.
- luhure**, fix up a prohibitive sign by which a thief or trespasser is threatened with supernatural punishment (in Amb. Mal. called *matakau*).
- lukar**, basket.
- lukun(n)(u)**, word, speech; decision; affair, case; *luku ene*, decide; *lukun apra*, word, saying; *lukun ara*, the kernel (lit. stem) of the matter; *lukun hari*, rumour; *lukun hariai*, rude language; *lukun hetele*, rude language; *lukun ito'on(e)*, unanimous, of one mind; *lukun lalū*, saying, proverb; *lukun mahunana*, dirty talk; *lukun me itamud(u)hai*, make a fixed arrangement with each other; *lukun me mud(u)hai*, give



one's opinion, incalculable a plan, instruct; *lukun me pan(u)ne*, inform, send word; *lukun me punmore*, make an arrangement with each other; *lukun me uma as'he*, make known, inform; *lukun nautane*, inquire about the language; *lukun newa*, reprimand; *lukun pai*, speak; *lukun saile*, stop speaking, after speaking; *lukun sala*, blurt out, say the wrong thing; *lukun(u) sohon(o)*, language, speech; *lukunu tapu*, saying, assertion; *lukun tôte*, establish, determine; *lukun umu*, establish, determine; *lukun(u) wisar(a)*, oration, speech; *aluku*, smut, snarl; *aaluku*, answer; *adaluku*, answer; *lukluku*, chatter, keep talking; *luklukun warta*, conver-

sation; *italukun me*, talk to each other; *itasluku*, speaking clumsily, confusedly.

**lumete**, crush(ed), dissolve(d).

**lumte, lunte**, stay forever; *lumte miatene*, settle down for good somewhere and stay there; *unalunte*, stay there.

**lure**, broom; *uma lure*, sweep the ground with a broom; *aralure*, brush down; *uralure*, sweep back.

**lūsare**, pass by.

**lusun**, water-vessel.

**lutur(e), lutre**, village-wall; *lutur āni*, be enclosed with walls, have walls; *lutur pai*, wall in, build a wall, walls; *ita'alutre*, stack, pile up.

**lu'un**, grave.

## M

**ma**, but, however, so that, and then; see also G. N. VIII § 2.

**ma'a**, tune, melody, voice; *ma'a here nanurapetle*, resound, reecho; *ma'a kakāse*, hoarse; *ma'a moumoure*, not clearly audible (of somebody who is calling from a distance).

**ma'are**, swallow by gulps; *ma'arana auni*, one gulp.

**ma'ate**, sweet; salt, brackish; *ma'atana*, which is sweet etc., being sweet etc.

**ma'aware**, tame (lit. listening to the voice); *pai ma'aware*, to tame.

**madamaliur**, large bat.

**madomo**, spectacles; *madomo mēte*, carry spectacles.

**maduere**, crushed altogether, gone.

**mahul**, engaged on, busy doing something.

**mahune**, bad (in every sense); *mahunana*, who (which, what) is

bad, being bad; *mahunana me mal(u)seile*, slander; *mahunana nanunut*, adversity, bad luck (cp. *unut*); *mahumahunana*, being very bad; *mahunen isa najamoi*, be lustful, have bad desires (lit. what is bad rises in the heart); *amahune*, come to grief, grief over.

**mahuseke**, extremely ugly.

**maina**, hard, firm, fixed, stuck fast.

**ma'ioone**, as usual.

**ma'ir**, big tooth; *ma'ir sikasika*, gnash one's teeth.

**majani**, harrier or sparrow-hawk.

**majaurua, najaurua**; head-rest, pillow.

**makamakawase**, whisper.

**makameremere tapu**, red seeds of *Abrus precatorius*.

**makaren**, club, meeting (= *maka-makaren*).

**makolo**, stupid.

- maku**, drinking-cup.  
**māl(a)**, loin-cloth.  
**mala'i**, outside; *mala'i mara*, go outside, go out; *mala'i nāni*, is outside, being outside.  
**malare**, angry, sour, bitter, hot; *malarana*, being angry etc.; vegetable poison; *malarsaure*, cry, whine, moan; *isa pai malare*, vex, annoy; *jemalare*, being warmed alone; in the expression: *hari eme jesute*, *wadu eme jemalare*, she was chilled by the wind alone, was warmed by the sun alone (of a widow).  
**male**, the smell of urine.  
**malete**, narrow, tight, squeezey.  
**mal'he**, see **malu** 2.  
**mal'hemara**, see **mara**.  
**mal'hema'u**, see **ma'u**.  
**mali**, a woman's brother's wife, brother's wife's sister, husband's sister.  
**mal'lakte**, see **lakte**.  
**mal'lare**, see **lare**.  
**malmore**, see **more**.  
**malnara**, it is daylight (*malu ara* 2).  
**malnin**, see **malu**.  
**malpe**, forget, forgetful, negligent, careless; *imalpe*, forget oneself, be careless, dissolute.  
**malrane**, see **rane**.  
**malseile**, see **seile**.  
**malsuhale**, see **suhale**.  
**malu** 1, sirih.  
**malu** 2, out, outside (verbal prefix); see G. N. I § 4 a; *malua'a*, out, outside (postposition and adverb); see G. N. VIII § 1 a; *mal(u)he*, outside, go outside; *mal(u)nin*, foreign, foreigner, stranger (lit. being outside, who is outside); *maluale*, out, outside.  
**maluara**, broad, wide, spacious.  
**mamakili**, tuberous plants.  
**mamala**, loose, easily loosened.  
**mamamuka**, see **mamuka**.  
**mamaro**, see **maro**.  
**mam'ma'a**, wide, spacious.  
**mamuir**, ant-eater.  
**mamuka**, empty; *mamamuka*, unmixed; by itself, by oneself; only, just; *na'umamuka*, see **na'u(n)(i)**.  
**mamule**, having suffered a loss; cp. **mule**.  
**mana**, fruit; *mana āni*, bear fruit; *manamana*, spadix of the lontarpalm.  
**manasi**, heat, hot.  
**manatu**, put away, pack up, preserve; *manatun*, depository.  
**mane**, afraid, fear, respect, honour; *pai to mane*, frighten (children only).  
**mani**, neck; also: skull, head that has been cut off; *manie'e*, cut somebody's throat; *mani haule*, struma; *mani kete*, neck; *manikete ramasu*, span of the hand; *mani kete utukelese*, span of the hand; *mani lia*, fringe; *mani me*, cut a man's throat (lit. take a neck, a head); *mani o'onwaje*, carry by the neck; *manio'ore*, embrace.  
**manmante**, nod.  
**manpia**, thin, slender, shallow.  
**manre**, see **s. isa** 3.  
**manumanu**, crazy, lunatic; *manumanun lukun pai*, talk nonsense, rave, be delirious.  
**mapehe**, easy (lit. not difficult?).  
**mara**, go; *maramara*, be travelling, travel on, go on; be sleepy; *maramaran*, travelling, going on, who travels etc.; *mara ha ura'a*, after one's departure; *mara ma'u*, come and go, to and fro; *maramara ma'uma'u*, continually to and fro,

- endlessly; *maramara ma'uma'un*, going to and fro; goings and comings (i.e. doings, behaviour); *mara pain*, the Creator (lit. who makes go); *mara palamire*, hatch, brood; *mararo*, gone away already; *mara todo*, have in tow, take in tow; *mara uste*, ask permission; *mara waaru*, visit, assist at; *amaramara*, audacious, bold; *inamara*, go where, whither; *itasmara*, be scattered, asunder, fly apart; *pain itasmara*, mischief-maker, firebrand; *it'hemara*, go far inside, far inland, to the very centre; *mal(u)hemara*, go out; *mud(u)hemara*, go in; *pan(u)hemara*, go on.
- maran(a)**, person of the highest caste; in stately language also used for: human beings.
- māri**, his (her, its) property, belonging to him (her, it); *māri ilasi*, as usual (his custom); *māri lapain*, office, dignity (lit. his belonging that is great); *māri lōwain*, id. (his belonging that is high); *māri nairi* = *māri ilasi*; *māri waluruni*, badness (his belonging that is bad); see also G. N. II § 2 c.
- mariada pai**, take care of, entertain; *mariadan*, entertainment, feast.
- mariun**, village-cries and adjutant of the village-chief (Amb. Mal. *marinjo*).
- marnoure**, see **noure**.
- maro**, human being; *maro auni*, somebody; *maro hetele*, bustling, populous; *maro hirehiren*, liar; *maro iaslaiken*, exile; *maro ilas*, a well-mannered man or woman; *maro inamodo maramara*, sleepy-head; *maro ime jamoin*, a conceited being (lit. human being who raises himself); *maro jānin*, obedient, amenable; *maro kira-kira walana*, a sensible man (woman); *maro putputo*, dwarf; *maro reksen*, waylayer, robber; *maro tijejeni*, alone (lit. the human being by himself); *maro udan*, murderer; *mamaro*, statue, image, picture of human being.
- maruh**, see s. **ia** 1.
- masketen hoho**, stench.
- maski**, although (Mal. *meski*).
- mata**, harbour; anchorage.
- matahitahita**, truly, verily
- matake**, entangled clew, ball.
- matar**, clew.
- mataroso**, sailor (Holl. *matroos*).
- matu** 1, old, having become soft by long wear (e.g. cloth); *itanamatu itanasulhe*, keep intermarrying.
- matu** 2, then, so, so that, but, but then; see also G. N. VIII § 2.
- ma'u**, come; *ma'u ma'u*, keep coming; *maramaran ma'uma'un*, see **maro**; *ma'un(u)*, who comes, who arrives, coming, arriving; *ma'u*, *ma'u to* is also used as an adhortative particle: come on, let us, you had better etc.; *mal(u)hema'u*, come out, outside; *mud(u)hema'u*, come in, inside; *nahema'u*, return to, back to; *pan(u)hema'u*, come on, to the front.
- maulu**, see **hua**.
- maumau**, cat.
- maupala**, a fruit: *Mangifera indica* (Mal. *mangga*),
- maur**, border, boundary.
- me**, see **eme**.
- me'ana**, true; e.g. *tuhurai me'ana*, his true wife.
- medai**, up, on high; also: before; see G. N. VIII § 1 a.
- mede** 1, up (verbal prefix); see G. N. I § 4 a.

- mede 2, eat; *meden(e)*, food; especially: rice and cassava; *meden siskete*, glutinous rice.
- medekaure, see *kaure*.
- medemante, lift up the head (nod assent).
- medenahura, whirlpool.
- medename, see *name*.
- medenate, strong.
- medenuate, see *uate*.
- mederitmu, see *rit(i)mu*.
- mederuture, see *ruture*.
- medesomone, see *somone*.
- mede'ware, see *ware*.
- meduk, palate of the mouth.
- me'e, sound (of any kind); *me'en*, sounding; *me'eme'e*, many or strong sounds; *me'eme'enana*, music.
- mei, table (Mal. *medja*).
- mekele, wet, *pai mekele*, make wet.
- mekilori, wet through.
- memeranan, see *merana*.
- memraka (also: *mimiraka*, *memreke*), red, red yarn; *was memraka*, purple (lit. very or too red); *memraka tauataua lauare*, purple (lit. red almost black).
- menhakane, see *hakane*.
- menhalse, see *halse*.
- men'kesre, strike, hit.
- meni, near; *was meni*, close together, dense (of a forest); also verbal prefix; see G. N. I § 4 a.
- menripare, see *tipare*.
- men'uale, see *uale*.
- me pai, bleat (of goats).
- mērai, some kind of corn, closely related to maize (Mal. *djagung* *djagung*, Amb. Mal. *andjelai*).
- merana, drunk, drunken; *memeranan*, drunkard; *pai merana*, make drunk.
- merpati, tame pigeon (Mal.).
- mesau, be living on, upon.
- mesel, wall (masonry); *mesele*, be-smear, spread over (Holl. *met-selen*, mason).
- mesene, visible, evident.
- meser, teacher, physician, midwife (Holl. *meester*, master, teacher).
- mese, to plant; *namese*, coire.
- mesihi, Christian (Mal. *masehi*).
- mete, see *emete*.
- meti 1, menstruate.
- meti 2, ebb, low water, reef; *meti kaharana*, dangerous reef, coral-reef.
- mi'ana, lumber, heap of rubbish.
- miatene, synonym of *lumte*.
- midne, perish, be wrecked, sink down; *pai (to) midne*, cause to be wrecked, cause to perish.
- mi'e, kiss; *mimi'e*, *mimi'en pai*, give kisses; *itami'e*, kiss each other.
- miki, mud, swamp.
- mila, vex, tease, make a fool of, seduce; *milamila*, outrage, bully, hold in contempt; *milan pai*, vex etc.; also: deceive; *milamilan pai*, do so continually or repeatedly.
- mimi'e(n), see *mi'e*.
- mimiraka, see *memraka*.
- mimiri, red.
- mina, fat, oily, oil.
- minasi, see *iminasi*.
- minate, arrange.
- minene, talk, relate, tell.
- minjēte, travel along the coast, round the mountains etc.
- minnene = *minene*.
- mire, sit; *imire*, sit down, be seated (imperat.); *amire*, sit on; *a'amire*, sit down on, on top of; *a'amirana*, sitting on, who sits on; *adamire*, sit down on; *inamire*, sit here, sit where; *inamamire*, sit here, on this, sit where, on what; *namire*, sit on, in; sit there; perform (of rites); *namirana*, who sits there,

sitting there; *nanamire*, use to sit there, use to sit on; *itamire*, sit near; *punmire*, sit together; deliberate; *unamire*, sit there; *ahamire*, sit strongly on (rule over); *mudumire*, sit in; see also s. *nere*.  
**mīre**, be confined.

**miri**, new; *mirmiri*, quite new.

**misa'a**, ?

**mō**, see **mō(mo)**.

**modasin**, creature; *modasin o'owaja*, lord of creatures (the Creator); also: *modasin wa'in o'owaja*, the Creator; *punmodasin pun(u)wa'in*, all creatures, all together.

**modatnāni**, see **modo**.

**modo**, child, kernel, pith; *modo*, small; *modo aluana*, womb; *modo ahuru āla*, died in childbed (lit. with the child in war: angry with the child); *modatnāni*, pregnant (*modo atu nāni*); *modo lausana*, foster-child; *modo asin(i)*, who gets a child, who is confined; *modo nami*, male child, son; *modo rāta*, offspring; *modo susun*, nurse, foster-mother; *modo tuhur*, female child, daughter; *modo wa'in*, child that is born, *modo wa'in(i) rāt(a) wa'in(i)*, children, creatures, grandchildren.

**moil**, elbow, knee; *moile*, push with one's elbows; *moil me uma naruale*, rest with the elbows on the ground; kneel; see *ruale*.

**molon**, mimic mockingly.

**momina** = **mumina**.

**mō(mo)**, shadow.

**momor(o)**, village; *momor a'alama-na*, village-population; *momor ara 4*, underneath the village; *momor ara 3*, ancient village, original village (lit. village-trunk); *momor aranin*, lower village (the western part of the dual village

*Oirata on Kisar*); *momor ahana-warai*, village-elders (see *naware*); *momor kaimu*, conquered village; *momor lutur*, village-wall; *momor lutur pai*, enclose a village with walls; *momor matu*, the old village; *momor(o) le*, village-house; *momor me lōri*, *momor me lōr samare*, conquer and plunder a village (cp. *lōrin, samare*); *momor modora*, village-officials (lit. village-children); *momor o'owaja*, *momor o'owara*, lord of the village, village-chief; *momor palana*, village-chief (who holds the village).

**mo'ol**, engaged on, busy doing something; *mo'ol mahul*, to exert oneself, to weary oneself out.

**more** in compounds), lay, lay down, order; *amore*, put down, send; *imore*, lay down oneself, go to sleep; finish, conclude (a ritual feast); *eme panmore*, delay, put off; *punmore*, put together; *uamore*, put (hide) under.

**mornala**, admonish kindly.

**morose**, ripe (of fruit); *moromorose*, were ripe, being ripe (of many fruits); *was morose*, over-ripe.

**moru (kēle)**, cause to laugh.

**morue'e**, grunt (of pigs).

**moson**, gunpowder.

**moumoure**, see **ma'a**.

**mū, mu**, banana (Mal. *pisang*).

**mua**, land; *adomua*, ivory-land.

**muda'a**, see **mudu**.

**mud'hai**, see **luku**.

**mud'he**, see **mudu**.

**mud'hotana**, see **mudu**.

**mudkeile**, see **keile**.

**mudname**, see **name**.

**mudu**, in, into, within, inside; *mud(u)aa*, in, into, inside, in the

meantime; see G. N. I § 4 a; *mu-  
duare*, see *uare*; *muduhakane*  
*muduhalse*, enter a harbour to  
anchor; *mud(u)he*, go in, cross  
(a river); *mud(u)hemara*, go in;  
*mud(u)hema'u*, come in; *mud(u)-  
ho'e*, be inside; *mud(u)hotana*,  
darling; *mud(u)huale*, see *huale*;  
*muduhutrau*, see *hutrau*; *mud(u)-  
keile*, see *keile*; *mudukono*, take  
up and carry in; *mud(u)ume*, see  
*ume*; *mudumire*, see *mire*; *mudu-  
ni*, inside, within; *mudunin(i)*,  
who (what) is inside, being in-  
side; see G. N. I § 3 c; *mudu-  
name*, see *name*; *mudunate*, see  
*nate*; *mudurake*, see *rake*; *mudu-  
rapale*, see *rapale*; *mudusuile*, see  
*suile*; *mud(u)uale*, see *uale*; *mu-  
d(u)wak(i)le*, see *wak(i)le*.

*mue*, smell; *amue*, to smell at.

*muimuite*, see *muite*.

*muisara*, ant.

*muít(e)*, long (of time), slow; *mui-  
muíte*, very long, very slow; *muíte*  
*muíte*, occasionally; *pai to muíte*,  
retard, slacken; *muíte he*, a mo-  
ment, quickly, soon; *muítna*,  
during, while; *muítna hanate*,  
while being ill.

*mujare*, odour; *mumujare*, fragrant.

*mukewe*, odour; *mumukewe*, fra-  
grant.

*mule*, disappear, go astray, gone,  
gone astray; *mulenana*, having  
disappeared, gone; *mamule*, hav-  
ing suffered a loss; *pai to mule*,  
cause to disappear, lead astray.

*muluana*, sweat.

*mumalai*, a fruit: *Carica papaya*  
(Mal. *betik*, *papaja*); lit. Mala-  
yan banana.

*mumina*, iron; *mumina hitin*, white  
iron, tin; *mumina tukana*, smith;  
*mumina tututen*, smith.

*mumse*, dive.

*mumujare*, see *mujare*.

*mumukata*, dirt.

*mumukewe*, see *mukewe*.

*murru*, deride, taunt; cp. *moru*.

*murruana*, nose; *murruana arata*,  
wing of the nose.

*musa*, *nusa*, bathe; also *musa wau*,  
cp. *wau*; *imusa*, *inusa*, bathe one-  
self.

*musu*, suck, lick.

*mus(u)ke*, suck, lick.

*mutkal(e)*, rice-meal, cassava-meal;  
fine; *pai mutkal(e)*, pound rice,  
cassava; make meal.

*mutu*, torch; *amutu*, light up, illu-  
minate with torches.

*mut(u)ke*, fat; *mut(u)kana*, *mut-  
(u)ken*, who (which) is fat,  
being fat.

## N

*na* 1, see *naa* 1.

*na* 2, dubitative particle; see G. N.  
VIII § 2.

*na* 3, *nawaini*, mother; term of ad-  
dress: *nale*; *nalerene*, mother and  
sisters, but usually it means:  
sisters; *na uani*, having the same  
mother; *na wari a'amirana*, step-  
mother (lit. sitting on the mother-  
nest).

*na(a)* 1, verbal prefix and inde-  
pendent particle, not clearly  
distinguished from *aa*; see G. N.  
I § 4 a, VIII § 1 a.

*na'a* 2, breath; throat; larynx; *na'a-  
he*, be exhausted, out of breath;  
*naa tôte pee*, gasp for breath (lit.  
breath going to stop); see also  
*nae* 2.

*na'ahale*, see *pale*.



- na'aje**, swim; *na'ajen*, who swims, swimming, *ana'aje'e*, swim with, take along swimming.
- na'akeki**, prepare, make ready; *na'akekin*, what is ready, being at one's disposal; *na'akeki ro*, ready; *na'akeki ron*, what is ready, being ready; *ina'akeki*, prepare oneself, make oneself ready.
- na'ataru**, wind-pipe, throat (lit. breath-vein); *na'ataru heli*, choke oneself, swallow the wrong way; *na'ataru odo*, larynx (breath-vein ring); *na'ataru upnate*, choke oneself, swallow the wrong way; *na'ataru pai elewe*, quench one's thirst (make the throat cool); *na'ataru ramasu*, strangle, throttle; *na'ataru tetere*, slaughter (cut throat).
- nadi**, wedge; *nadi me aruale*, stretch by means of a wedge, especially: brace a drum.
- nadoure**, see **doure**.
- nadre**, grind small with a stone.
- nae** 1, or, or perhaps (dubitative and interrogative particle); see G. N. VIII § 2.
- na'e** 2, take rest, rest oneself, take breath; stay somewhere temporarily; *a'ana'e*, stay, reside in or on to rest; *nana'e*, take rest; *nana'en aluana*, guesthouse, place where travellers find a lodging; lungs; cp. also **na'a** 2.
- naha** 1, the Creator (lit. mother father).
- naha** 2, but; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- nahai**, to-morrow; *nahai nahai*, every day again; *alnahai*, on the following day; *nahai ton(o) pai*, delay, procrastinate.
- nahale**, see **pale**.
- nahamai**, not knowing, ignorant, unknown; *inahamai*, unconscious; *inahamain*, being unconscious, being ignorant; *nahanahamai*, suddenly, unexpectedly.
- nahamatu**, but then, however; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- nahana**, perhaps, perhaps however; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- nahanawe**, teach, learn; *nahanawana*, what is taught, instruction; *inahanawe*, learn (teach oneself); cp. **panawe**.
- nahante**, see **hante**.
- nahara** ... **so** (or **pee**), henceforth however; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- nahawadi**, always (?).
- nahelere**, sit down on, e.g. *ete ihi nahelere*, sit down on a flower (of a bee).
- nahema'u**, see **ma'u**.
- nahihitene**, halt, limp.
- nahinere**, brimful.
- nahinorok(e)**, remember; *nahinorok pai*, cause to remember by means of a keepsake, make a keepsake; *etenahinorok(e)*, wrong, mistaken, misunderstanding.
- naho'ana**, see **ho'e**.
- nahoute**, see **houte**.
- nahure**, see **ahure**.
- nahutrau**, see **hutrau**.
- nair(i)**, custom, manners, good manners, good sense, wisdom, discreteness etc.; use, clothes, dress; *naire he*, not in use; *naire hewete*, in use; *nainairi*, clothes, dresses; *nair jani*, good manners etc.; *nair mahunana*, bad manners; bad ways etc.; *nair mahunana liare selre*, repent, be converted (change one's bad ways); *nair nahamai*, ill-mannered, ill-bred.
- najamoi**, see **jamoi**.
- najau(e)le**, sulk, grumble; *arana-*



- jau(e)le*, grumble to, scold, meddle with.  
*najaurua*, see *majaurua*.  
*najēte*, see *jēte*.  
*nakamanan(a)*, rolled up and tied (of a sail).  
*nakana(a)*, coral-rock in sea; coral.  
*nakataka*, finest (of clothing).  
*nakatun*, sending (something that is sent); *eme nakatu*, send.  
*nakaure*, see *kaure* 2.  
*nakeslana*, see *akesle*.  
*nakinemene*, ready, fully-equipped; *pai nakinemene*, to make ready, equip.  
*naku*, promise, arrange; *nakun(u)* 1, promise, arrangement, advice; cp. *nou*.  
*nak(u)n(u)*, *nak(u)n(e)* 2, fine, crushed, dissolved; rest, remainder; dust, ashes; *nak(u)nake*, crushed entirely; *nak(u)nehoine*, crushed entirely, torn to rags; *nak(u)ne le irira*, make liquid; *nakun (naknakun) rotote*, mince, chop small; *pai to nak(u)ne*, crush, pulverize.  
*nalapana*, mother's sister.  
*nalau*, spread (of a smell).  
*nalause*, see *lause*.  
*nalēre*, see *lēre* 1.  
*naliare*, see *liare*.  
*nalteri*, explain; *ahanalteri*, be able to explain, understand; see also *odotnalteri*.  
*namara*, stretched, taut; *pai to namara*, stretch, make taut.  
*name*, catch; take; tie up; *araname*, take down, lower; *medename*, lift up, raise; *medenamen*, the Creator (lit. who raises); cp. *rit(i)mu*; *muduname*, take in.  
*nameese*, see *mese*.  
*nami*, male, male person; a woman's brother; *nami ananafe*, harlot.  
*namirai*, husband; *namirara*, husbands; *namirai āni*, be married, have a husband; *namirai* also occurs with the meaning of (a woman's) brother.  
*namire*, see *mire*.  
*namlause*, woman who behaves as if she were a man (lit. man-living).  
*namu*, a very small stinging insect, sandfly: *Ceratopogon* (Mal. *agas*).  
*namuske*, blow, e.g. on a musical instrument or shell; cp. *mus(u)ke*.  
*nana* 1, particle expressing doubt and possibility; see G. N. VIII § 2.  
*nana* 2, snake; *nana mahunana*, poisonous snake.  
*nanadoure*, see *doure*.  
*nana'e*, see *na'e*.  
*nanate*, see *nate*.  
*nāni*, there is, there is in (on, at); present in (on, at); ready at one's disposal; *nānihe*, there is not etc.; *nāniro*, have acquired; see also *āni*.  
*nanian*, marry; *itanania*, marry each other; cp. also *iahata*, *itanania-hata*.  
*naninawali*, allow; cp. *aaninawali*.  
*nantahinara*, really, as a matter of fact, in reality.  
*nanuha*, see *uha*.  
*nara*, particle often functioning as a colon; see G. N. VIII § 2.  
*narahale*, see *pale*.  
*narai*, old woman of standing; cp. Amb. Mal. *njora* from Port. *senhora*.  
*narapa*, see *ara* 2.  
*narasa*, dress, use (clothes); *inara-sa*, dress, dress up (oneself), change clothes.  
*naratrene*, see *ratrene*.

**narau**, see **rau**.  
**nare'e**, like, as if being.  
**narese**, see **horese**.  
**nariei**, why, the reason why.  
**naru**, can, possible.  
**narua**, see **rua**.  
**naruale**, see **ruale**.  
**narunu**, hole.  
**narutu**, see **tutu**.  
**nasoōte**, see **sōte**.  
**natarā**, house outside the village,  
 e.g. in the field; *natarā naakekin*,  
 house-furniture; *natarā samuru*,  
 house-furniture.  
**natarate**, see **tarate**.  
**natare**, rise and go away.  
**nate**, stand, be standing, rise; *anate*,  
 stand on; *a'anate*, find, come  
 upon; *adanate*, serve up food;  
*mudunate*, stand in; *nanate*  
 stand there (in a certain place);  
*punnate*, stand together (deli-  
 berate); *itanerenate*, follow each  
 other; *sia nate*, be higher;  
*unanate*, stand there; *upnate*.  
 see **na'ataru**; *utnate*, stand  
 before, in front, govern; *utna-  
 tiran*, see **s. da'uru**; *ultua nate*,  
 stand up in the middle, rise  
 in the middle, interfere; see also  
**uranate**.  
**naua**, see **nawa**.  
**na'ume**, see **ume**.  
**na'umu**, tired, out of breath; *na'-  
 umun(u)*, tiredness, exhaustion,  
 who is tired, exhausted, out of  
 breath, being tired etc.; *was na'-  
 umu*, quite exhausted, utterly  
 miserable; probably *na'umu* =  
*naa umu*, breath dies.  
**na'u(n)(i)**, only, just, quite, abso-  
 lutely; *na'uhe*, not at all; *na'uhali*,  
 not at all, absolutely not; *na'uma-  
 muka*, desolate, deserted; *na'una-  
 ate*, quite full, brimful (cp.

*aate* 2); *na'unemenemene*, as  
 little as possible; *na'uniare*, pay  
 cash (cp. *iare*); *na'unonhali*, be-  
 fore (lit. just not yet); *na'u(n)-  
 o'one*, like, just the same as;  
*na'unumarana*, at first, in the  
 beginning; *na'uso*, just a moment;  
*na'usaile*, finished, gone (of  
 food); *pai na'usaile*, finish, eat  
 up.  
**nāure**, take breath.  
**nautane**, ask; *nautanana*, what is  
 asked, question.  
**nautoro**, see **itanautoro**.  
**nawa**, **naua**, eat; *nawan*, eating,  
 who eats, food, rice, millet; *nau  
 nauahe*, eat not at all.  
**nāwa(wa)**, ashamed; *nāwan*, shame;  
*inanāwa*, be ashamed of.  
**nawa'i**, see **wa'i**.  
**nawa'ini**, see **na** 3 and **wa'i**.  
**naware**, see **ware**.  
**nawarware**, see **ware**.  
**naweana**, = *aweana* (see **aweu**).  
**nawēine**, ready, equipped, prepar-  
 ed; *pai nawēine*, to prepare.  
**naweru**, see **aweru**.  
**naweu** = **aweu**.  
**nawole**, see **wo**.  
**nawo'ore**, see **s. uma**.  
**ne**, speak, talk; *ane*, inform, news,  
 tidings; *anene*, suppose, presume;  
*anenen*, rumour; *ananenen he*,  
 certain, not to be doubted; *asile-  
 ne*, speak to; *wasne*, speak as  
 well as possible.  
**ne'ene'e**, all of them, wholly.  
**ne'er**, a saw.  
**nehemu**, broken.  
**nekte**, hiccough.  
**nelu**, arrangement (for a meeting  
 at a definite time).  
**nelus**, pocket-handkerchief, hand-  
 kerchief, piece of cloth (evidently  
 by metathesis from Timor. and

- Amb. Mal. *lenso*, *leso*, Port. *lenço*).
- nēme**, six; also *nemeen(e)*; see G. N. III.
- nēne**, name; *nēneja*, *nēneta*, his (her, its) name, cp. G. N. II § 2b; *nēnei* mule he, fame, famous (lit. his name does not disappear); *nēne me deru*, *nēne me ina*, name (call, give a name); *nēne me houte*, defame, vilify (lower one's name); *nēne pai*, write one's signature (make name); *nēne sorote*, write one's signature (write name); *nēne pai hoho*, calumniate, vilify (make name rotten) (= *nēne pai mahune*).
- nenese**, seek, look for boisterously.
- nerē**, follow, accompany, go together with, board, embark, visit; *neren*, who follows etc., following etc., near, near by; *ner(e)nana*, following, next, follower; *nerenasi* 1, imitate, copy; *nerenasin* 1, copy, counterfeit, who copies etc. (cp. *asi* 1); *ner(e)nasi* 2, look upon, follow with one's looks (cp. *asi* 2); *nerenhirari*, see *hirari*; *nerenhai*, imitate, copy; *nerenhain*, imitation, copy, counterfeit; *nerenjēte*, sleep, lie down near, acquiesce in; *nerenlare*, see *lare*; *nerenmirana*, assistant, servant, proxy (lit. who sits near); *nerenriparana*, see *tipare*; *nerenuale*, see *uale*; *nerenwaje*, see *waje* 2; *itanere*, pack up, put away; *itanernere*, follow each other; *uraanere*, follow from behind.
- nēre**, flat, level.
- nerenin**, eye-tooth, probably = *neren ina*, following the eye.
- neru**, time; *uan neru*, one time, once; *inaa uan neru*, this time.
- nēsrau**, luggage, cargo, freight, load; also used in the special sense of captured head, skull.
- netnetle**, travel fast.
- ni(e)**, = *ie*, *tie*.
- nihe** = *nie he* (*ie he*, *tie he*).
- nikin**, mosquito.
- nilehe** = *ilehe*.
- nisa**; there is (something); *nisa isa*, *nisa aun(i)*, *nisaun(i)*, there is something; whatever; *nisaun he*, nothing at all, nothing whatever; *nisaun akeile he*, see *keile*; *nisaunhaihe*, it does not matter; *nisaun lolo he*, ignorant (= *nisaun nahamai*).
- nisaun(i)**, see *nisa*.
- niwar(a)**, being or object from which one derives strength, courage etc.; god, amulet.
- no** 1, see **o**.
- no** 2, earth, world; *no aranin(i)*, being under the earth; *no daran*, earth, world (lit. layer or story of the earth); *no daran ianin(i)*, *no ianin(i)*, being on or above the earth.
- nohe**, early in the morning; *nonohe*, very early in the morning.
- nokonoko**, see *kupa*.
- nononorohai**, rake up, poke up (the fire) (= *nononortanare*).
- no'o(no'o)**, younger (of family relations); a woman's sister, younger sister, husband's brother, sister's husband's brother; second wife; afterbirth; *no'ono'o modo*, child of younger (youngest) brother or sister; *no'ono'ora*, younger (youngest) brothers or sisters; *no'ora modora*, younger brothers' (sisters') children; also: followers, army, third caste; *an'no'o an'ka*, my family (lit. my younger and elder brothers and sisters).

**nor**, between.

**norātana'a**, see **rāt(a)**.

**nou**, arrange, promise, make an arrangement, agreement (= *nou naku*); *noun* = *nakun*, *noun nakun*, arrangement, agreement, promise; arranging etc.; advice; *nounāni*, promise, agreement.

**noure**, follow (with unfriendly purposes), chase away; *nounoure*, keep chasing away; *aranoure*, drive down, chase down; *mar-noure* (= *mara noure*), go and follow, go to chase away; *itanoure*, follow each other; *sianoure*, go in front, first).

**numarie**, wail continually; *inum-*

*arie*, bewail oneself continually; see also **arien**.

**numu**, continually.

**num(u)saure**, weep (wail) continually; *inum(u)saure*, bewail oneself continually.

**nuna'a**, just now, not long ago.

**nunu**, waringin, banyan-tree.

**nūnu**, just now, not long ago, at that time.

**nūnumarmari**, yelp, whine (of a dog).

**nunut**, see **unut**.

**nupur(u)**, human body, oneself; *nupur letana*, body-part.

**nusa**, see **musa**.

## O

**o** (**jo**, **no**, **wo**), also, but, yet; see G. N. VIII § 2.

**ō**, oh!, well!, perhaps! (interjection).

**odo** 1, ivory, bracelet, foot-ring.

**odo** 2, field; *odo mara*, go to the field; *odo naa ma'u*, come from the field; *odo ira*, field (lit. field water); *odo irimi*, old field; *odo wali*, field.

**odo** 3, hit, struck, guess; *ododon*, riddle.

**odohutrau**, see **hutrau**.

**odomua**, see **mua**.

**odota'a**, straight above; straight underneath; just opposite.

**odot'he**, overhead.

**odotkaure**, grope about and get hold of; see **kaure** 2.

**odotlare**, meet with, acquire, catch, grasp; *odotlarana*, acquisition, catch, prize.

**odotnalteri**, succeed in explaining, hit upon the right explanation; cp. **nalteri**.

**odotrapa**, see **tapa**.

**odotrēle**, see **tēle**.

**odotsuile**, see **suile**.

**odotsura**, see **sura** 1.

**odotuale**, see **uale**.

**ohi**, piercer, awl.

**oh(o)ru**, whale.

**okdonaman**, sea-cow: *Halicore dugong* (Mal. *dujung*).

**oknopo**, button (on clothing); *oknopo me āni*, button up, sew on buttons (from Holl. *knoop*).

**okon**, marrow, brains.

**ōle**, mew, mow, bellow, howl.

**olo** = **asa**.

**omose**, make ready, prepare, equip.

**on(o)**, more, yet, further, still; *on-hali*, not yet.

**o'o** 1, with, together with, and.

**o'o** 2, mouth, snout, beak; *o'o asasate*, loquacious, bragging (lit. mouth talking continuously); *o'o ha'aha'a*, eloquent (mouth quickly open); *o'ohira*, lip, rim of dress; *o'ohira soko*, *o'osoko*, hare-lip; *o'o irakete*, talking smut; *o'o iraketen*, who talks smut; *o'o kakalua*, eloquent; *o'o kakaluan*,

who is eloquent, able talker, very talkative; *o'olaru hali*, very fat (lit. there is no space between the legs); *o'olia*, beard, moustache, air-root; *o'olia tudun taru o'onen*, side-whiskers (lit. beard like hat-ropes); *o'o luklukun* = *luklukun*; *o'o nahinere*, brimful; *o'o nawar-waren*, obedient, amenable, submissive; *o'o pai*, talk big, have plenty of jaw; *o'o tamataman*, funnel, hopper (lit. what is introduced into the mouth).

*o'ohai*, example, mode, manner; *oohaini*, for example.

*o'oje*, steal.

*o'omana*, door, doorway.

*o'omanlau*, village gateway.

*o'on(e)*, like, conformable, in the same way as, in the same direction as, in the direction of, relating to; *o'onen*, model, picture, similarity, being like; *o'onasi*, look in the direction of, look at, catch sight of; *pai o'onasi*, make look towards, show; also: *eme o'onasi*; *o'onada*, having to do with wood, have to fetch wood; *o'onan'kai*, having to do with weaving-tools or spindles, having to spin; *o'onaria*, with relation to herding, having to herd; *o'onelele*, flow towards, flow in the direction of, ooze through; *o'onhai*, make like, make in a certain way, change; *o'onhe*, travel along, or in a certain direction, on a certain road; *o'onhirarin*, dwelling-place; *o'onjete*, lay in, lay in between; *o'onira*, having to do with water, having to fetch water; *o'on'kaure* 1, dig in the direction of; *o'on'kaure* 2, take up; *o'onluku*, talk, speak like, repeat, agree; *o'on'ne* = *o'onluku*; *o'onrapale*,

feed (morsel by morsel); *o'onrapalen pai*, force to eat by putting the food into somebody's mouth; *o'onrukete* = *o'onluku*; *o'onsolin* = *o'onhirarin*; *o'onuale*, travel along a certain path, following a path; *o'onwaje*, transport; *io'one*, thus, in this way, as usual, always so; *uo'one*, in that direction, thus, in that way; *ino'one*, how, in which way; *ito'one*, alike, equal, conformably; *ito'one he*, unequal, different, difference; *itao'one*, like to each other, similar.

*o'opa'a*, part, portion.

*o'orhanawe*, charge, instruct; *o'orhanawana*, charge, instruction, commission; *nano'orhanawe*, promise to, assign to; *ano'orhanawe*, charge with, instruct to.

*o'otauria*, see *tauria*.

*o'otihale*, see *tihale*.

*o'owaja*, *o'owara*, lord of the land, rightful owner; also: *o'owaru*.

*o'o wekasu(n)* = *o'o iraketen* (see s. *o'o* 2).

*o'o wohi wohi*, garrulous, loquacious (mouth moving continuously).

*opasa*, spy (probably from Holl. *oppasser*, soldier-servant, police man).

*oplese*, bottle (Holl. *flesch*).

*opo*, bone; *jaitapul opo*, skull; *opo wēija*, shoulder-blade (lit. bone-paddle).

*ōre*, weep; *itasnōre*, weeping all round, weeping all of them.

*ore*, coo, jingle, rattle; *oren*, cooing etc.

*oro*, a part of the weaving-loom.

*oron'kai*, village-chief (Mal. *orang kaja*).

*orotapul*, small stone.

**otaunu**, one place, a certain place, another place.

**oto** 1, poor; *pai to oto*, make poor.

**oto** 2, forest, wilderness; *otowāre*, hunt wild animals; *otowāren*,

hunter.

**ou**, well! (interjection introducing a question or a request).

**oumakan**, a small outrigger-canoe.

## P

**pa**, a particle expressing doubt; occasionally it is also adhortative; see G. N. VIII § 2.

**pa'anewe**, eat too much; *ipaanewe*, overeat oneself.

**pada**, clan; *padapalana*, clan-chief.

**padar**, long thorn, man-trap.

**pa'e**, see **pe'e**.

**pai**, make, do, cause to; *pain(i)*, making etc., who makes etc.; deed, act; owing to; *paipain*, deeds, doings, behaviour, matter, business; *painpain etekaure*, mend one's ways (lit. stop doings); *(i)paipain liare selre*, repent, mend one's ways (change doings); *paipain mahune*, bad act, vice; *lawan paipain*, goldsmith (lit. who uses to work gold); *pai ne*, to sneeze; *pai pu'ine pai la'ine*, take away somebody's shame (e.g. by fining the person who has insulted him); *pai to ahahara he*, to astonish (see **ahahara**); *pai to ederemu he*, to confuse, make somebody lose his head (see **ederemu**); *pai to iro*, fulfil, complete, accomplish, cause to arrive, deliver (cp. **iro** 1); *pai to isa tutu he*, make averse from, inspire with aversion; *pai to ita o'one he*, cause to differ from each other, make different; *pai to lowai*, lengthen; *pai to lumete*, to crush, dissolve; *pai to oone*, create, produce, compare.

**paki** 1, clothes, clothing; gift of clothing; present, gift.

**paki** 2, chief, lord.

**palama'i**, prone, prostrate; lie prostrate; *pai palama'i*, cause to prostrate, lay down prostrate.

**palamire**, brood, hatch; cp. **mire**.

**palana**, see **pale**.

**palanasi**, look at something intently from a distance; see **asi** 2.

**palase**, answer (Mal. *balas*).

**pale**, hold, keep hold of, handle, keep; *palana*, who holds (chief); *palen*, who holds, holding, keeping; *adahale*, accept, receive; *ahale*, touch, palpate, take hold of; *a'ahahale*, join, unite; *arahale*, stick, cleave on; *eme arahale*, cause to stick, glue; *hahale*, lengthen, fit on, join; *hahalana*, union, what has been joined; *nahale*, prepare, collect; *nahalen pai*, collect (fruit); cp. also **rapale**, **tapa**.

**pal pai**, tack, beat up against the wind.

**palpalu**, thin rotan.

**palte**, champ, mash (while eating).

**palu pai**, hit, strike.

**pān(a)**, decoy, bait.

**pana**, dubitative and interrogative particle; *pana inahai*, why else, what else could be the cause; see G. N. VIII § 2; *pan(a)ha*, so, yet, nevertheless; see *ibid*.

**panak(e)**, ill (according to interpreter this is a "Timorese" word).

**panana**, see **pane**.

**pana'o** = *pana o* (emphatical form of *pana*).



**panar**, female (of animals).

**panarai**, virgin.

**panawe**, instruct, teach; *panawana me ina*, pronounce sentence, judge; cp. **nahanawe**, o'orhanawe.

**pane**, delicious, dainty, good to eat; feed, regale; *panin(i)*, its deliciousness, what is delicious; *panpanin*, food delicacies, titbit; *pai to pani*, make delicious; *panana pai*, regale, feast, take care of; *panana mudua*, feast, entertainment.

**panha**, see **pana**.

**panhate**, see **pate**.

**panlare**, see **lare**.

**panlaulusana**, see **lause**.

**panmese**, see **panu**.

**panmore**, see **more**.

**pannasi**, see **panu**.

**panni**, see **panu**.

**pan'nuale**, see **uale**.

**panpanin**, see **pane**.

**panpan'ne**, translate; see also **uraa**.

**panria**, see **uraria**.

**panripare**, see **tipare**.

**pansuile**, see **suile**.

**panu**, face, outward appearance, looks, front; also prefix: in front, to the front; adverb *pan'ni*, in front; see G. N. I § 4 a; *pan'nasi (panuasi)*, look in front; *panu ara he*, look sour, out of spirits, angry; *panu elewe*, look gloomy, sombre; *panu hitine*, look pale; *panu ihihile*, seasick (lit. face flying about); *panu kaune pee*, look gloomy (lit. face going to break up); *panu kurcourse*, sour-faced; *panu liawari*, hairy-faced; *panu mamuka*, hollow-faced; *pan(u)mese*, transplant, plant out; *pan(u)mesen*, seedling; *pan(u)mule*, see *inamule pan-*

*mule* (s. **ina** 4); *panunamirana*, who sits in front, who sits paddling in the prow; *panunamate*, pay one's respects to; *panunani*, is in the prow, in the prow; *pan(u)suile*, see **suile**; *panu'utuni*, in front of; *pan(u)wakle*, fly straight on, straight to.

**papale**, prick one's ears (cp. **pale**?).

**papede**, sago-meal porridge (Amb. Mal. *papeda*).

**papua**, shoulder.

**pápua**, pirate; *pápua taan pai*, commit piracy.

**pāra**, **par**, hungry, hunger.

**parikpale**, person in authority (lit. holds authority).

**paspase**, stiff, hard, untractable (of beings and things).

**pat(a)**, **pateen(e)**, four; see G. N. III.

**patarawai**, sound of thunder or rifles.

**pate**, pull down, break up; *pate kahare*, destroy, exterminate; pluck, gather fruit, steal (esp. sirih and pinang, fruit or other garden-products); *urahate panhate*, turn topsy turvy, put in disorder; *itapate*, fight each other; *loraa pate*, commit piracy.

**patia**, envelopment, cover; *patia pai*, envelop, cover.

**patile**, make head against, defy.

**patpatu**, leprosy.

**pa'tu**, palm-leaf rib.

**patu** 1, thigh, lap.

**patu** 2, done (of food); *pai to patu*, cook etc.

**patun**, tendon, sinew, vein.

**patunhai**, thrash, flog.

**pau**, skin, chaff, bran.

**pednika**, digging-stick used to turn the ground (*pedu ika*).

**pedu**, turn the ground.



- pe'e**, going to, intending to; see G. N. VI § 6; also: *pa'e*; *pe'en*, who is going to, willing to.
- pe'ena**, see about *na* G. N. VIII § 2; it adds a dubitative and interrogative element to the meaning of *pe'e*.
- pe'enaha**, see *pee*, *naha*.
- pe'enara**, see *pee*, *nara*.
- peimu**, return, go back, back.
- pēl(e)**, bow (the weapon); *pēlamu*, arrow (cp. *amu*); *pēl pai*, shoot with a bow; *pēpēle*, toy-bow (Holl. *pijl*, arrow).
- pele**, palm of the hand, sole of the foot; also: *tana pele* and *ia pele*.
- peleke**, tin (of preserved food) (Holl. *blik*).
- pen**, **pēn(e)**, writing-pen.
- pēneti**, pin (Mal. *peniti*).
- penōte**, lean against.
- pēnu** = **peimu**.
- pēpēle**, see **pēle**.
- pēre**, silver (Mal. *perak*).
- per(e)kse**, test, taste, assay, examine, investigate; *per(e)ksen pai*, examine, investigate (Mal. *periksa*).
- pērewē**, bury, inhumate.
- pesara**, great, festive (in *wadu pesara*, festive day) (Mal. *besar*).
- peseri**, lean, lean to; see also *s. uma*.
- petil** 1, division, class; *pet(i)le*, divide, demarcate.
- petil** 2, mosquito-grub, tadpole.
- pīihe**, moving above, on top of.
- pilpili**, leak (in a boat).
- pin(i)t(e)**, see *s. isa* 3.
- pīpin**, see *s. ada* 2.
- pitu**, **pitue(e)n(e)**, seven; see G. N. III.
- ploit**, flute (Holl. *fluit*).
- podoh**, ignorant (Mal. *bodoh*).
- po'e**, contents, contain; *eme po'e*, fill, load; also *pu'e*, *pu*; see also **punnin**.
- po'ine**, (it is) not necessary; see also **pu'ine**.
- poje**, weeds, vegetation, high stiff grass (Jav. *alang-alang*); *poje asa*, weedbird; *poje ara*, under the weeds, among the weeds.
- pol**, ball (Holl. *bal*, Port. *bola*).
- polo**, blunt; *pai (to) polo*, make blunt.
- pōne**, ?
- popon**, all kinds of peas and beans.
- posi**, oath, curse, malediction; *posin*, who swears, curses, maledictor; *posin pai*, swear etc.
- pōt**, boat (Holl. *boot*).
- pōte**, to cut, cleave, kill, slaughter; *itoonhōte*, divide into equal parts.
- potloto**, pencil (Holl. *potlood*).
- potos**, bottle (via Mal. *botol* from English *bottle*).
- potorene**, moved, shaken.
- potret**, portrait (Holl. *portret*).
- pudi**, deceive; *pudi akal*, all kinds of tricks and devices (Mal. *budi*, intelligence, reason, cunning etc., 'akal *budi*, judgment, deliberation, common sense etc.).
- pu'ine**, in the expression *pai pu'ine pai la'ine*, take away somebody's shame; cp. **po'e**.
- pukaunu**, trunk of a body; headless corpse.
- pula**, sprout, sprig, penis.
- punderu**, see **deru**.
- punhat(a)le**, see **hat(a)le**.
- punkono**, see **kono**.
- punmire**, see **mire**.
- punmore**, see **more**.
- pun'name**, see **punu**.
- pun'nate**, see **nate**.
- pun'nin**, sum total; cp. **po'e**.
- punramasu**, see **ramasu**.
- punrane**, see **rane**.
- punsura**, see **sura**.
- punterne**, see **terne**.

**punu**, gather, collect, assemble;  
*eme punu*, collect, bring together;  
*itamepunu*, *itampunu*, meet to-  
 gether, come together; *eme punu*  
*katalu*, shelter, protect; *punu* is  
 also used as a prefix expressing  
 together, and there is an adverb  
*punua(a)*, together, together  
 there; see G. N. I § 4 a, VIII  
 § 1 a.

**pupur(u)**, with, together, while;  
*pupurmara*, go together with,  
 accompany.

**pusana**, hill.

**putare**, deceive.

**putputo**, see s. *maro*.

**putu**, white ant, cockroach; *putu*  
*ajēte*, ant-eaten etc.; *putu kada-*  
*nana*, old white ant; *putuwari*,  
 ant-heap.

## R

**ra**, particle expressing emphasis,  
 e.g. *uhe ra*, certainly not, not at  
 all.

**ra'ai**, indeed, yet, all the same.

**ra'aje**, bake, roast; *ra'ajana*, what  
 is roasted, roast-meat; *ra'arajana*,  
 what is usually baked, roasted.

**ra'awarahe**, besmear.

**rade**, duck.

**ra'i**, the North.

**rain**, woman's jacket.

**rain(i)**, native boat, in the fixed  
 expression: *rusun(u) rain(i)*.

**raja**, prince, chief (Mal. *radja*).

**raka**, gang of workmen.

**rake**, look, used in compounds only;  
 probably the verb-stem is *take*;  
*ararake*, look down; *arakrake*,  
 search through, ransack; *āarakrake*,  
 lie in wait for, spy upon; *mudu-*  
*rake*, look in, look inside; *urarake*,  
 look behind one, look back.

**rakte**, tie up firmly, fetter.

**ramasu**, knead; *punramasu*, crum-  
 ple up.

**ramke**, ?

**rane**, go, used in compounds  
 only (cp. *tatane*); *iarane*, go  
 up, ascend, embark; *jerane*, be  
 alone, widow; *itrane*, dent; *pai*  
*to itrane*, indent; *malrane*, go out,  
 outside; *narane*, come or go upon;

*punrane*, assemble, meet together;  
*tawarane*, increase; *tawatawa-*  
*rane*, keep increasing; *uarane*,  
 entrust oneself to; *urarane*, go  
 back, decrease.

**ranranu**, naughty, vicious.

**rantā**, chain (Mal. *rantai*); *rantā*  
*me āni*, to chain, enchain; *rantā*  
*mete*, enchained, shackled.

**rante**, see s. *auana*.

**rapale**, to fall; used in compounds  
 only (cp. *tapa*); *arapale he*,  
 retract a promise, back out of,  
 keep not, fulfil not (cp. *arahale*  
 s. *pale* and *tapale* s. v. *tapa*);  
*hehenrapale*, nearly falling; *jera-*  
*pale*, be alone, widow; *mud(u)-*  
*rapale*, fall in; *unarapale*, fall  
 there; *urarapale*, fall back.

**rarewai**, giant (in myth).

**rasa**, see s. *uma*.

**rāt(a)** 1, grandchild, grandparent;  
 smallpox; *rātara*, descendants;  
 posterity; *rāt na ha*, ancestors;  
*rāt na ha ēnen*, heirlooms, an-  
 cestral property (= *rāt na ha*  
*ta'an*); *rāt wadu na'a houhoute*,  
 pedigree (lit. descending from  
 ancestral time); *rātana'a*, for-  
 merly, at first (= *nōrātana'a*);  
*rāt(a)wain(i)*, children, off-  
 spring, grandchildren.

**rāta** 2, eagle; term of address: *rātei*.  
**rate'en**, see *ratu*.

**ratrene**, **aratrene**, show (to); *nara-trene*, show to.

**ratu**, man or woman of noble blood, of the highest caste (*marna*), but in stately language the word is also used for human beings in general, especially in fixed expressions and as numeral classifier; *ratu auni*, somebody; *ratu e'ene*, *eje'en(e)*, two (noble) people (= *rate'en*); *ratu jejeni*, alone, by oneself; *ratu lause*, the people, creation, is thriving (usually: *ratu lause maran lause*); *ratu na ratu tuhuru*, women (lit. mothers and women); *ratu pain*, who makes human beings, the Creator; also: creation (of human beings); *ratu pain maran pain*, the Creator.

**rau** 1, a kind of fish with a rough skin (Timor. Mal. *radjabau*).

**rau** 2, lay down, put down, set up; *irau*, sit down; *me irau*, *pai to irau*, cause to sit down, lay down, found, erect; *a'arau*, see s. **ina** 4; *adarau* 1, put down on; *adarau* 2, put the cooking-pot on the fire (*ada* 2 *arau*); *narau*, lay down on, build; *ita'a'arau*, having been laid down on each other, layers; see also **unarau**.

**rei** 1, part, share; *reireini*, assistance; *reiwo'o*, because, cause, reason.

**rei** 2, pull, draw; *reireije'e*, shake. **reiseke**, soiled, dirtied.

**reiwo'o**, see **rei** 1.

**rekreku**, hard, crisp (of fried or roasted food).

**rekse**, cut, hew, hack; *reksana*, who cuts; *ia(r)rekse*, take a short cut, await somebody in ambush; *maro reksen*, somebody who is lying in

ambush; *rekrekse*, chop, hack. **rēpe**, to measure, measure off.

**reple**, dry, dryness, low tide, hard; *replana*, who (what) is dry, being dry; *reple he wusane he*, brittle (lit. not hard not soft); *onhali jānin reple*, moist, damp (lit. not yet quite dry).

**resen(e)**, anvil.

**resi**, resist successfully, vanquish; *resresi*, arch, roguish.

**reti**, depository (of any kind).

**reureu kalete holete**, sounding continually.

**reute**, uproot, betray.

**rewai rawai**, giant (in myth).

**ria**, put away, keep; *rian*, remnant, remainder, difference; dispute, quarrel; *rian nauhali*, exterminated (lit. nothing whatever is left).

**riatana**, raft.

**rikriki**, in rags, to rags.

**ripare** (with a prefix), see **tipare**.

**rite**, draw, pull.

**rit(i)mu**, raise; *mederit(i)mu*, lift up, raise, create; *mederit(i)mun*, *medenamen*, who raises, who creates, Creator.

**ritlene**, see **titlene**.

**riun(u)**, thousand; *riun tanupur*, ten thousand; see also G. N. III a.

**riwasa**, pin, hairpin.

**rō**, good, salutary, beneficial, blessing; *rōrō*, peace, safety, prosperity; *rō jawani*, see s. **jawan(i)**; *rōn(o)*, what (who) is good; beneficial, salutary things, religious cult; *rōn pai*, make peace; *rōn muduni*, contentedness, inward peace; *rōno jawanini*, who acts well, benefactor; *rōn(o) uste*, perform religious rites, pray (lit. ask for well-being, peace, salutary things).

**ro**, already (indicates a finished

act); *ro'e*, already? (interrogat.); see also G. N. VI § 5; about *ron* see G. N. VII b.  
*roki*, pick up and eat (of birds).  
*roko*, being in the way, obstacle; *rokon pai*, hinder, obstruct; *roko-rokon*, hindrance, impediment.  
*romromu*, closely planted (of hair).  
*romte*, *ronte*, lots of hair hanging loose.  
*ronhe*, massage.  
*rōrō*, see *rō*.  
*roro*, perhaps.  
*roso*, shake.  
*rosone*, make ready, prepare, equip.  
*roto'e*, boil (of water).  
*rua*, sit, sit down; *irua*, imperat. plur.; *a'arua*, sit on; *a'aruan*, sitting on, upon, stop, stopper, cork; *punurua*, sit together; *uarua*, sit under; *rua rua*, hut, shed, temporary shelter; *narua*, perform (the rites).  
*ruale*, put, set, erect, found, bring about; *aruale*, stick between, put in between; *araruale*, erect, let down, put down (= *me araruale*); *itasruale*, fly apart, scattered broadcast; *naruale*, raise on, prop

up against; *me adaruale*, cause to lean on.  
*ruhu*, trickle, ooze through, leak; *iaruhu*, leak from above; *naruhu*, trickle, leak on.  
*ruka(te)*, join, unite; *a'aruka*, id.; *rukatana*, joining, uniting, connection; *ita'arukate*, joined, united, join each other.  
*ruki*, overcome, vanquished (Mal. *rugi*, loss etc.).  
*rukte* (in *oonrukte*), see s. *oone*.  
*rupa*, dirt, refuse, rubbish.  
*ruri*, strong; *ruri he*, weak, powerless; *ruri he ro*, at one's wits' end, desperate.  
*rūrū*, throb (of the heart), shake, shaken.  
*rūs(u)*, nail, pin; *ruse*, to nail; *utruse*, id.  
*rusun(u)* 1, native boat, canoe (stately term, usually: *rusunu raini*).  
*rusun(u)* 2, sing. song.  
*rutne*, lie, lie down, laid down (= *here* 1); *urarutne panrutne*, weigh, consider.  
*ruture*, support; *eme mederutur*, push up.  
*ru'uru'u*, to blow (also of the wind).

## S

*sadle*, cut off slices, especially of the flower-stalk of a palm-tree in order to tap palm-wine.  
*saholo*, trousers.  
*sahu* 1, broom, sweep, wipe; *sahu sahun pai*, to sweep, to wipe.  
*sahu* 2, to eat.  
*sahu* 3, sting (of insects).  
*sahuraki*, lemon, sour lime; *sahuraki maatana*, sweet lemon, orange.  
*sai*, rust; *sai āni*, *saijee*, to rust.  
*saike*, strew, sow, sprinkle, spatter; *saikana*, sown seed; *asaik*, strew

on, sow on etc.; *saisaike*, shake repeatedly or continually, especially one's head; *arasaik*, throw down, fling down (patients plur.).  
*saile*, finished, done, settled; get wrecked, sink, wrecked; *saisaile*, gone (lost) repeatedly or continually; *saile tie*, after that, then; *saile tono*, id.; *pai (to) saile*, finish, settle; cause to be wrecked, cause to sink.  
*sair(i)*, flag; *sair uanin*, government (lit. who are of one flag).

- saisai**, mother's brother, mother's sister's husband, father's sister's husband.
- saiso'or**, comb, brush; *saiso'ore*, to comb, brush; *saiso'oren*, combing, brushing, being combed, brushed; *odo saiso'or*, ivory comb.
- saka**, prop, support, spoon; *saka-nāni*, lying ready on its props (of a boat); *saka pai*, to prop, support; *adasaka*, to prop, support.
- saki**, to cleave, cut into two halves.
- sal**, saddle (Holl. *zadel*, *zaal*).
- sala**, wrong, not good, not true; guilt, fault, misdeed, bad act in general; failure; *sala he*, good, true etc.; *salan(a)*, guilty, guilt, especially: incest, adultery; *salan ali ederemu he*, forgive, forgiveness (lit. guilt no longer remember); *salan āni*, be guilty, be wrong, sin; *salan me iawaje*, accuse (lit. throw up who is guilty); *salan pai*, be guilty, sin (especially of sexual sins); *inasala*, dissolute, debauched, fornication, fornicate.
- saledin**, let loose, loosen; *isaledin anaje*, resist, recalcitrant (lit. try to free oneself).
- salin(i)**, ten thousand; see also G. N. III.
- salne**, hang at the arm (e.g. a sirih-bag).
- sama**, sweet potato.
- samare**, break down, mould, mouldy, musty; *momor me lōr samare*, conquer and plunder a village; cp. *seri* 1.
- sam(u)r(u)**, ornament, decoration, be decorated, furniture; *sam(u)re*, to decorate, to equip with furniture.
- sana'e**, highway robbery; *sana'ana pain*, highway robber.
- saneurtaru**, mooring-rope.
- saple**, peel; *saplana*, peeled, which is peeled.
- sapun**, soap (Mal. *sabun*).
- sarane**, touch at (a port); cp. *rane* (?).
- sarani**, Christian (Mal. *serani*).
- sarapete**, towel, napkin (Holl. *servet*, napkin).
- sarawa'at(a)**, sirih-bag, sirih-pouch; *lower sarawa'at(a)*, sounding (rustling) sirih-bag (made of lontar-palm leaf).
- sare** 1, to offer sirih, pass round the sirih-bag.
- sare** 2, open; *isare*, expand, open oneself.
- sare** 3, revile.
- saroko**, small bag, cornet (made of leaf).
- sarunopo**, rib (in the body).
- sas**, fallen leaf; *sāsa*, many fallen leaves.
- sasake**, soft.
- sasu** 1, loosen, make loose.
- sasu** 2, pining away with longing.
- saure**, weep, cry; also of all kinds of animal sounds; *sauren*, weeping, crying etc.; *asaure*, weep over, bemoan; *arasaure*, whine to get something (of children).
- saware**, defecate.
- seile**, draw, pull; *seile to lowai*, stretch out, draw out; *seile to tawa lowai*, stretch out, draw out, protract; *lehen seile*, hoist sail; *isa seile*, govern oneself, master one's feelings; *itaseile*, tug-of-war, rope-pull (lit. pull each other); *mal(u)seile*, draw out; *utseile*, cut, cut off, cut through.
- seitaru**, satan, impostor; *seitaru iar*

- nere*, *seitaru iar nahoute*, having gone astray, having lost one's way; see also s. *adar* and *seri* 2.
- seke*, scale, shell of a nut etc.
- seket*, ritual dance, generally known in the S. W. islands by the name of *seka*.
- sekseku*, cripple, lame, limp.
- sekte loire*, bury (dead people); cp. *loire*; the meaning of *sekte* is not quite certain, probably it is a synonym of *loire*.
- selre*, change, exchange; *liare selre*, repent, repentance; *selren pai*, *selrana pai*, exchange; *selselre*, by turns; *iselre*, change one's dress; *iselre pai*, id.
- selseli aluana*, bowsprit.
- seltana*, rudder-place.
- semen*, outrigger-float; *tetese men(e)*, outrigger (lit. boom-float).
- sere*, coast, sea-shore; *sere mara*, go to the coast; *serena*, Timor (lit. coast-mother), also called *umana serena*, land-mother, coast-mother, *sere naho'ana*, people living on the coast.
- seri* 1, multitude, population, common people, subjects, army, followers; *seri dari*, army, troops; *seri itanernere*, follow each other by troops; *seri apra me lōre*, *seri apra me lōr samare*, make prisoners of war; cp. also *lōrin*, *samare*.
- seri* 2, slanting, sloping, oblique; also: satan, bad spirit; *seri iar nere*, loose one's way (follow satan's road); *seri wakale*, hang over, incline, list.
- serkede*, *sirkede*, slippery, oily; slip, slide, shove; be born prematurely, miscarriage; *utserkede*, cover by shoving something over it; *tawa-*  
*serkede*, remove shoving and add to.
- serna*, see *sere*.
- sese*, sharpen.
- sesele*, pray, pray for help, lament.
- sesi*, repudiate, chase away; *sesi worawa*, keep off and chase away.
- sewai*, winnow, to winnow; *sesewai*, to winnow.
- sewe*, wages; *sewe nawan*, day-labourer, employee (lit. who eats wages); *sewe(n) pai*, pay wages, remunerate (Mal. *sēwa*).
- sewere*, pull with a jerk.
- sia*, more, surpassing; *siahai*, very much, many, plenty, abundance, enormous.
- siake*, angry.
- sianawarana*, see *ware*.
- sianumare*, see *umar(e)*.
- siarane*, more.
- siasuile*, see *suile*.
- sia'uale*, see *uale*.
- sika*, shine, glitter; *sikan*, shining, glittering; *sikasika*, see *ma'ir*.
- siloro kajamete*, a kind of snail or slug.
- sirkede*, see *serkede*.
- sina*, China, Chinese.
- sinahai sanahai*, holy being; *sina-nahai sananahai*, unholy, unjust being (?).
- sirpana*, religious cult; *sirpana pai*, worship the gods, perform religious rites.
- sirwisi*, work, duty; *sirwisi āni*, have work, to work; *sirwisi pain*, labourer, who works; *sirwisi was to hanate*, drudge, toil (lit. work too much so that ill).
- sise*, walk, there, travel there.
- sisiete*, collude with bad people.
- sisi*, well, true, right; *sisinasi*, look well, investigate.



- sisin**, wedge.  
**siskete**, clay, loam, stick, sticky, miserly, stingy.  
**sisrue**, to show.  
**siwa, siwa'en(e), siwe'en(e)**, nine; see G. N. III.  
**siw(i)adake**, perforate (and string together).  
**siwir**, ritual act with the purpose of averting disasters; *siwir pai*, perform such ritual acts.  
**slop**, slipper (Holl. *slof*).  
**so**, particle expressing future and uncertainty; see G. N. VI § 6, VIII § 2.  
**sō**, sink, decrease (of water), ebb; *meti sō*, ebb-tide.  
**sodole**, stopper.  
**soh**, possibly, probably.  
**sohole**, go, travel, push off, sail away; *soholen(e)*, travelling, who travels, journey; *sohosohole*, shaken, moved to and fro; *nasohole*, travel to, visit.  
**sohon(o)**, language, usually: *luku-n(u) sohon(o)*; *asohone*, snarl, snub at, speak rudely to.  
**sohu**, pray, pronounce a wish.  
**soi**, a swing; *soi pai*, to swing.  
**soklai**, see *sokolai*.  
**soko**, a joke; *soko pai*, to joke; *soko pain*, joking, joker; *o'o(hira)* *soko*, see s. *o'o* 2.  
**sokolai**, fillet of lontar-leaf; *ihi sokolai*, comet.  
**solī** (seldom *sola*), inhabit, dwell, dwelling-place, fixed abode; in the same sense is as a rule used: *solī hirari*; *katalasolī*, squeezey dwelling-place; *nerenhirari neren-solī*, live near by; *itasis'solī hirari*, settle down together, inhabit together; *lētsolī*, see *lēt*; *solsolin*, abode, settlement.  
**solot(o)**, bay.  
**solrata**, soldier (Holl. *soldaat*).  
**solun**, large bamboo-case.  
**somon**, load, burden, carrying-stick; *somone*, carry a load, suffer, carry with a carrying-stick; *ahasomonehe*, unbearable; *medesomone*, take up and carry; *somon me somone*, carry together (of several people who are carrying something together).  
**sompajang**, religious act, rite (Mal. *sembahjang*).  
**sorlewen**, large house with several stories.  
**sormata**, homage, respect, pay homage (Mal. *hormat*).  
**soroke**, migrate, move house.  
**sonore**, scattered far and wide.  
**sorot**, book, letter, picture, drawing; *sorote*, write, draw; *sorotana*, writing, what is written (or printed); *sorot kerkerin*, writer, scribe, clerk; *sorot liare*, foretell; *sorot liaren*, foreteller, soothsayer; *sorot nāniro*, written, covered with writing; *sorot pai*, write a letter, a book, draw a picture; *sorot umajaele*, map; *sorsorote*, dot, point (Mal. *surat*).  
**soru**, wipe, plane; *sorsorun*, plane; *em(e)soru*, to plane.  
**sōsō**, between falling and rising tide.  
**soso**, rub, scour; *eme soso*, rub down, thrash; *eme itasoso*, thrash each other.  
**sosote**, enough, sufficient(ly), ample, unstinted, roomy.  
**sōte**, measure, gauge, sound; *sōte he*, immeasurable, fathomless; *nasōte*, compare; *sōto*, measure, law; *sōt palen*, judge (lit. who holds law).  
**soululu**, pole.  
**sousoul** see s. *ia* 1.



**sud'di**, strike with the fist.  
**sudi**, touchstone; *sudi me awaje*, test, assay.  
**suha**, blister from a burn.  
**suhale**, move quickly, stream, run, pour, irrigate, diarrhoea; *suha-suhale*, flow, stream; *asuhale*, pour on; *arasuhale*, pour out, pour down; *malsuhale*, squirt out; *tawasuhale*, pour with.  
**sui**, man-trap.  
**suile**, move on all fours, crawl, travel; *suisuile*, travel about, be travelling continually; *ahasuisuile*, make a slip of the tongue; *anan-suisuile*, going to wander about looking for; *etesuile*, loose one's way, go astray; *josuile*, go too far; *isarsuile*, go to the end of the road; *mudusuile*, enter; (*pai to*) *siasuile*, pass, pass by, cross; *pansuile*, move on; *pansuilen araene*, resist, struggle against (lit. not willing to move on, e.g. cattle); *uasuile*, walk stooping (shrunk up); *urasuile*, crawl back, move back, yield; *odotsuile*, discover while travelling.  
**suka**, eat.  
**sukan**, all together, all of them, quite.  
**suki**, coire.  
**sulare**, crawl (of snakes or insects), trail (of plants), pitch (of a ship); also *sulasulare*; see also *s. lolor*.  
**sulhe**, soft (of clothes that have been used and washed); *itana-matu itanasulhe*, keep intermarrying.

**sulmata**, smooth and shining.  
**sūn(u)**, mucus; *sūn me*, blow one's nose; *sūne sāne*, sniff, cold in the head; *isūnu i(i)nawaja nawe*, weep bitterly (lit. eat his mucus and tears).  
**sunu**, a kind of fish, regarded as coarse food (in Amb. or Timor. Mal. called *ikan tatuh*).  
**sup**, soup (Holl. *soep*).  
**sura 1**, assay, test, taste, try, put to the test, look into, investigate, visit; *sura sura*, respect, let alone; *odotsura*, be able to explain, succeed in explaining.  
**sura 2**, invite, order; *asura*, *nasura*, invite, invite to; *punsura*, call together, convoke.  
**sure**, to put; *uasure*, put under or between, hide under; *ime uasure*, hide oneself under, entrust oneself to.  
**susa**, difficult, difficulty (of any kind), adversity, distress, disaster, grief, sorrow, complaint, sigh; *susa he*, easy, easiness, prosperity etc.; *pai susa*, cause trouble; *ipai susa*, be in trouble, in difficulties, be anxious; *pai to susa*, afflict, grieve, wrong.  
**suseke**, pen, pin (Mal. *susuk*).  
**susu 1**, angle; *susu pata*, square, quadrangular.  
**susu 2**, female breast; *susu amu*, milk; *susu ina*, nipple; *susu me ina*, suckle; *jarala susu*, foster-brother or -sister; *modo susun*, wet-nurse.

## T

**ta 1**, possessive suffix third person sing.; also used as a relative pronoun, a copula, and a postpositive article; see G. N. II § 2 b; IV

§ 1 b, c, § 3 a; VII a; cp. also **ta'an(i)**.

**ta 2**, axe; *taje*, to cut with an axe.  
**ta'a**, number, count, respect, fear;

- ta'ata'an*, calculation, counting; *ita'ata'a*, be conceited, think much of oneself; *ta'ahe* 1, several, many; *ahara'ahe*, innumerable, a great number.
- ta'ahe* 2, invite; *taahehen*, who invites.
- ta'an(i)*, *ta'ana*, property, ownership; used as an emphatic possessive suffix (see G. N. II § 2 b, c); *ta'ana'ane*, make true, fulfil (make it his own); *eme ta'ani*, heir.
- ta'an*, ten, decade; *taanauni*, one decade, ten; *ta'anupur*, fully ten.
- tada*, catch (a fluid in one's hands, in a pot etc.).
- tada(n)*, sign, mark, foretoken; *tada(n) me āni*, to mark.
- tadan*, tribe, people, class, caste.
- tahale*, patch (e.g. to mend clothes with); *tahalana*, patched cloth; *tahalana pai*, to patch; see also *pale*, *rapale*, *tapa*.
- tahi*, true, just, proper; *tahi tahi*, quite true etc.; *tahi tahini(n)*, surpassing, eminent, supernatural power; *tahiye uhe*, true or not; *tahi pana uhe'o*, perhaps true, perhaps not; *sirwisi tahi tahinin*, important work.
- tahule*, buy; *tahutahulin*, merchandise, purchases; *tahulana*, purchase-price.
- tai*, sea; *tai asa*, heron; *tai ahahe*, on, above the sea, moving over the sea; *tai jaele*, on the (surface of the) sea; *tai karhou*, porpoise, sea-hog; *tai kuda*, horse-fish, sea-horse; *tai wee*, sea-shore.
- taileti*, wait, have patience.
- taire*, weight; *itataire*, counterbalance one another.
- tairepu*, see *tepu*.
- taitaile*, slow, sluggish; *pai to taitaile*, retard, procrastinate.
- taitair(i)*, pair of scales, balance; *taitaire*, weigh, consider.
- taja*, sleep, pass the night; *tajan*, who sleeps, sleeping, *tajan hēte (tajan) najaurua*, sleeping on one mat and on one pillow; *tajan umun pai*, sleeping like dead people; *tajatere*, sleep (of a number of people together); *aataja*, sleep on, on top of; *aatajan*, who sleeps on, sleeping on; *em(e)taja ma'i*, cause to sleep, put to sleep; *isaturaja*, sleep very soundly; *tuturaja*, noddle, doze.
- taje*, see *ta* 2.
- tala tala*, small bells.
- talat*, see *s. auana*, *kirakira*.
- tāle*, twine; *itatāle*, twist together.
- talhai*, much, many.
- talū*, resist., vanquish.
- tamatama*, see *s. o'o* 2.
- tamse*, spread (of odour).
- tana*, hand; *tana amseken me uma soru*, wipe one's dirty hands with the first thing handy; *tana a'ume*, consign to somebody's care (lit. lay into hand), e.g. a request; *tana ilana*, pledge, security (lit. hand-tie); *tana keles tetere*, cut one's nails short; *tana kupa pai kalete*, flick (flip) one's fingers; *tana mani*, pulse; *tana muduni*, give up to, entrust to; *tana me'en*, domestic animals, tame animals; *tana pale*, guide; *tana pele*, palm of the hand; *tana papale*, lead by the hand; *tana pele me sōte*, measure by handbreadths.
- tanare*, pole, stick.
- tanē* see *rane*, *tatane*.
- tanis*, shelter for soldiers, barracks (Mal. *tangsi*).
- tapa*, stab, shoot, batter, pound,

prick, gnaw; in general: touch with force, move with force; *emtua emtapa*, bounce to and fro, up and down (e.g. of a ship that is battered and thrown about by wind and waves); *tapale*, bounce, hurl, thump; *itatapale*, bump against each other; see also *rapale*; *eterapa*, miss (of a missile); *itasrapa*, noise, rumour, confusion; *odotrapa*, hit (of a missile or weapon); *utrapa*, to break; *itatatanrapa*, see s. *uma*.  
**tape**, filtrate, sieve; *tapetapen*, filter, sieve.  
**taple**, lump, piece.  
**tapmodo**, see *tapu*.  
**tapu**, kernel, pit, seed, weighing-stone; also used as a numeral classifier: *tapu uani*, *tapu auni*, for example, is used in the same sense as Mal. *sebidji*, *sebuah*; *tap(u)modo*, *atutap(u)modo*, intestines.  
**tara 1**, fixed, constant, lasting.  
**tara 2**, to rough-hew with a *tartara*, adze.  
**taraleu**, male (of animals).  
**taran**, branch (of a tree); *taran āni*, branched, branchy.  
**tarate**, frightened, awe-struck; *natarate*, frightened by, afraid of; *itanatarate*, afraid of each other; *kepte tarate*, see *kepte*; *pai to tarate*, frighten; *taratluku*, threaten; *tartarate*, easily frightened, skittish.  
**tarha**, how many.  
**tari**, fence or cage of leaf-ribs; *tari āni*, fenced in; *tari pai*, to fence in.  
**tarkāsa**, paper (by metathesis from *kartās*, Port. *cartaz*).  
**tartara**, see *tara 2*.  
**tartarate**, see *tarate*.

**tartaru**, see *taru*.  
**tartei**, when (adv.).  
**taru 1**, tendon, vein, rope, tree; *taru itanoure*, to rattle (of dying people); *lār taru lere taru*, rigging (lit. sail-ropes, mast-ropes); *tartaru*, toy-sling.  
**taru 2**, friend, comrade.  
**taruma**, indigo (Mal. *tarum*).  
**tata**, dry; *utrata*, quite dry; *was tata*, lowest ebb; cp. *titlene*.  
**tatane**, meet; *tatanasi*, look somebody in the face; *tatankaure*, receive, accept; *tatanluku*, answer; *tatanrute*, dodge, avoid, draw aside; *itatatane*, meet with each other; *itatatanasi*, sit face to face; see also *rane*.  
**tatap**, roundabout; *em(e)tatap*, surround.  
**tatara**, a kind of pigeon, in Mal. called *balam*; also: the sound it makes.  
**tata'u**, see *ta'u*.  
**tate**, flap one's wings; wag one's tail.  
**tatere**, burst, crack, dryness; *pai tatere*, cause to burst, crack.  
**ta'u**, smoke; *tata'u*, to smoke (of a fire); *ta'uta'uee*, smoking continually; *uma ta'u*, see *uma*; *pai ta'u āni*, fumigate.  
**taua**, see *tawa*.  
**taume**, rise (of sun and moon), wax (of the moon); *taumen*, rising, waxing, which rises, waxes.  
**ta'unu**, any kind of beans or peas.  
**tauria**, blowing a conch-shell; *ootauria*, cheek.  
**tauru**, see *utunu*.  
**taus(u)**, wide, open place; plain.  
**tawa**, together, with, add; *tawahale*, *tawapale*, keep, govern together (cp. *pale*); *tawaeme*, marry to-

- gether; *tawa'ile*, see *ile*; *tawahuje*, see *huje*; *tawanahure*, see *ahure*; *tawanilehe*, see *ilehe*; *tawarilene*, see *titlene*; *tawaserkede*, see *serkede*; *tawasuhale*, see *suhale*; *tawawajamai*, see *wajamai*; *tawarane*, see *rane*.
- tawan**, a certain length of time, age, period, year; *tawan aun mudua*, every year, yearly; *tawan nanuha*, for years; *tawan waruana*, world-serpent (lit. who measures the years).
- tawar**, thatching of palm-leaves, called in Mal. *atap*.
- te** 1, tea (Holl. *thee*).
- te** 2, see **tie**.
- te'e**, try, test; *maro te'e*, put somebody (a human being) to the test.
- teher(e)** 1, mountain; *teherie lapane*, mountainous; *teher kaure*, dig for metals or ore; *teher ulula*, mountain-top.
- tehere** 2, be wrecked (a ship).
- tehere** 3, calm, still (of the weather after a shower), immovable (of attitude); *tehere he*, be restless, restless; *isa was (tehe) tehere*, melancholy, downcast.
- tehuke**, explain.
- tei**, forbidden, sacrosanct, taboo; *tei pai*, practice abstinence; *teitei*, perform religious rites, religious acts.
- tekene**, portrait (Holl. *tekening*, drawing).
- tēle**, conscious of, mindful of; *ina-rēle*, regain consciousness, come to one's senses again; *odotrēle*, suddenly become aware of, starting from one's sleep discover.
- telira**, other, the other one, different, foreign.
- temne**, see **tim(i)n(i)**.
- temraa**, see **timur**.
- tena'je**, see **tina'je**.
- tena'iri**, see **tina'iri**.
- tene**, quenched, extinguished (fire); *pai to tene*, to quench, extinguish.
- tenen** 1, right (side); *tenen naa*, on the right side, to the right; *tenenasi welnasi*, look around (lit. look right look left); *tenen-jēte*, lie or stay on the right side.
- tenen** 2, keel of a ship.
- tenianin**, ?
- tepele**, break, cut; *kaprepele*, chop, cleave, split; *utrepele*, cut off, cut off somebody's head; *tepu*, broken; *teptepnana*, broken all of them; *tepula*, piece, lump, fragment.
- tēren**, row, series.
- teri**, to cleave pinang; measure (circumscribe) a piece of ground.
- terne**, spur, incite, stimulate, compel, force, prick, press; *ternen*, compelling, who compels; *ternana*, compulsion, coercion; *terne ro*, compelled, forced, incited etc.; *terne to mahunana pai*, instigate, incite to something bad; *pala-terne*, oppress; *punterne*, assemble, meet together.
- terua**, umbrella, pajung.
- tete**, outrigger-boom; cp. **semen**.
- tetenae**, stammer.
- tetere**, cut off.
- teti**, rob; *teten pain*, robber.
- tetu**, then, so; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- ti** 1, see **tie**.
- ti** 2, to flow.
- ti** 3, first (adverb).
- tia**, bite, prick, nibble, munch, chew, gnaw, eat; *tia tia*, chew (sirih); *tianana auni*, a quid of sirih; *uraria panria*, strike or stab about, run amok.
- tiale**, tiele, tread, trample, kick;

- uma tiale*, stamp one's feet (lit. trample the ground); *titiele*, trample, stamp, walk in, walk through; *turiele*, to kick; *hinan aharielen*, see *hinan(a)*; *inariele*, leave, leave behind.
- tian(a)**, pole, quant, staff.
- tie, ti, te**, that, the; see G. N. IV § 1 a, b.
- tihala**, small drum, hand-drum; *tihale*, shock; *atarihale, atartihale*, box on the ear; *o'otihale*, hollow-cheeked; cp. also *atarlere* and *unutatarjête* (s.v. *unut*).
- ti'irana**, which is pressed down; *hu ti'irana tomorana*, a certain kind of fishing-net; cp. *tomorana*.
- tikua**, vermin on the body, lice.
- tîli**, stalk (of plants).
- tilue**, to dance (also of ritual dances: *horoke*); *tiltilue*, play around; *tiltiluen*, play, game, dancing.
- timese**, suck out, lap up.
- tim(i)n(i)**, hot, heat, fever, strong (also of taste), hard, angry, be angry; *timnana*, heated, in fever; *timinne*, with a shrill voice.
- timraka**, tin, lead, zinc.
- timur**, east, eastern; also: *timur la-pai*; *timur letana warat letana*, rainy season (between east- and west-monsoon); *timur temraa muduni*, on the eastside, in the east; *timurnin(i)*, who is in the east, being in the east.
- tina'a** (= *tie inaa*), that very, that here, from that; *wanat tinaa*, that very night; *wadu wanat tinaa*, in those times of which we are speaking now.
- tina'iri** (composed of *tie, inaa, iri*), postpositive demonstrat. pronoun: this here; see G. N. IV § 1 b, d.
- tina'je** (composed of *tie, inaa, ie*), postpositive demonstrat. pronoun: this here; also *tina'i, tina'ie*; see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- tinara**, so, therefore, henceforth; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- tipare**, move quickly, run, run away; *tipatipare*, run, keep running, keep moving on quickly; *tiparen*, running, who runs; *iaripare*, rise (especially of sun and moon); *menripare*, pass, pass by; *neren-riparana*, following wind, favourable wind; *panripare*, go on, travel straight on; *uraripare*, go back, float back.
- tîri**, this is, thus is, this, thus; see G. N. IV § 1 d; *tîri(o), tîri(no)*, thus, likewise; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- titiele**, see *tiele*.
- tîtil(e)**, suddenly, fixed, unmovable, not moving.
- titîr(i)**, drum; *titîri*, many drums.
- titlene**, dry; *titlana*, which is dry; *pai to titlene*, to dry; *dularitlene*, quite dry, properly dry; *tawaritlene*, altogether changed into stone; cp. also *tata*.
- titnate**, very steep.
- tî'tî**, cricket (the insect).
- tjat**, paint (Mal. *tjat*); *tjat me soru*, to paint.
- tna'a**, see *tina'a*.
- to 1**, so, so that, to; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- to 2**, half coconut shell.
- toho**, generalizing and emphasizing particle; with (and also without) a negation also used in a prohibitive sense. A preceding personal pronoun has the abbreviated form; see G. N. V § 1, VI § 4 b, VIII § 2.
- toi**, make notches in a tree-trunk, to be used as steps; *toinana*, notches; *toinana pai* = *toi*.
- toko**, large house-lizard (Mal. *tokè*).



- toku**, shop (Mal. *toko*).
- toli**, wait for, await, watch, guard;  
*aroli*, wait for, await; *tolil*, wait a moment!, just a moment!; *alua-naa toli*, stand waiting, wait on the spot.
- tolo**, a kind of imported printed cloth, which in different islands of eastern Indonesia belongs to the ritual paraphernalia and is highly valued accordingly (Mal. *kain petola*, *patola*).
- to matu**, so, therefore, for that reason; see G. N. VIII § 2.
- tomorana**, which is let down, sunk;  
*hu tomorana*, a net that is sunk.
- tono**, a particle expressing emphasis and, slightly, expectation or desirability. It is also used to introduce the subordinate clause. A preceding personal pronoun is prefixed in its abbreviated form; see G. N. VII b, VIII § 2.
- tonose**, lowest ebb.
- topur**, ?
- tori**, scissors; *torin*, clipping with scissors.
- toro**, forge, weld (of gold).
- toron**, a kind of basket.
- tôte**, loose, free, finished, break;  
*pai tôte*, finish, decide; *tôtluku*, finish speaking.
- totokur**, half coconut shell; skull;  
 see also s. *unut*.
- totole**, split, chop, hew; *totolana*, having been split; see also s. *ete* 1.
- toune**, immerse, put in soak.
- tour**, many people, crowd; *toutouru*, all of them, the whole crowd.
- toure**, not clear; *uma toure*, dark, cloudy weather.
- towotowo**, bellows ?
- tu** 1, altogether, quite; *tu me houte* (*tu me*) *jamoi*, for ever.
- tu** 2, postpositive article; see G. N. IV § 1 a.
- tua** 1, see s. *tapa*; *tutua*, hammer, stone pestle.
- tua** 2, lontar-palm, palm-wine, lontar-palm leaf; *tua katal*, vinegar; *tua lehun*, javelin, mostly of lontar-wood; *tua mani*, top of lontar-palm.
- tudun**, cover, hat (Mal. *tudung*).
- tue**, prick a hole, perforate.
- tuhanu**, true, the same, likeness, like; *pai to tuhanu*, compare.
- tuhur(u)**, woman; *tuhurai*, *tuhuraje*, wife; women; *tuhurai āni*, be married (have a wife); *tuhurai me'ana*, true wife; *tuhur ka*, old woman; *tuhur la'u*, woman's dress, sarung; *tuhurlause*, man living like a woman; *tuhur rain*, woman's jacket (the piece of clothing that is called *kebaja* in Malay); *na tuhuru uru*, menstruate, menstruation.
- tuika**, planting-stick; cp. *tue*.
- tuilai**, small flag, pennant.
- tuilapu**, blow, strike (with a weapon); cp. *ilapu* and *tua* 1.
- tuin**, ?
- tulalu**, festive day.
- tulawara**, ballast-stone.
- tulere**, hit, strike.
- tulne**, help, assist; *tultulnen*, helper; *eme tulne*, to help; *emtulnen*, helper, helping, assistance.
- tumante**, throw down.
- tumue**, be angry, hostile; *itatumuen*, enmity, hostility; cp. *tutue*.
- tun**, time, period.
- tunederemu**, see *ederemu*.
- tunu**, roll up, fold; *tunun*, folding, who folds; *tununana*, fold, pleat, wrinkle.
- tupake**, dye yarn.
- tuputupu**, sounding (making noise continually).

**turau**, throw (with something at somebody); *turau to umu*, to stone to death.

**ture**, see **tuure**.

**turiele**, see **tiele**.

**turitimu**, push.

**urus**, straight, straight on; *urus ne*, speak frankly (Mal. *terus*).

**tute**, weld, forge; *tutunana*, smith's work; *tutunana pai*, weld, forge; *tutunana pain*, smith; *tutulen*, smith.

**tūtenāni**, see **tūtu**.

**tutre**, see **tuture**.

**tutrulu**, see **tuture**.

**tutu 1**, drink; *tutunana*, what is drunk, drink; *arutu* (in *isa arutu*), see s. *isa 3*; *narutu* = *arutu*.

**tutu 2**, mast.

**tūtu**, fork; *tūtenāni*, lying ready, propped up (of a boat); cp. *sakanāni*.

**tutua**, see **tua 1**.

**tutue**, go in the direction of, make for; *itatutue*, live in enmity, be hostile to each other; cp. **tumue**.

**tutuh**, in love, infatuated; *pai to tutuh*, cause to be in love.

**tutun 1**, cape, promontory.

**tutun 2**, group, collection, meeting, altogether, quite.

**tutura**, noddle, doze, be very sleepy; cp. **taja**.

**tuture**, carry on the head, be worsted; *tutrulu*, hat.

**tu(u)re**, heavy, heaviness, fatigue, dangerous, danger, heavy burden; *tu'uture*, verry heavy etc.; *tu'ur me imore*, take rest (lay off fatigue); *tu'ur meten*, lever; *tu'ure hōne*, heavy with pregnancy; *tu'ur somone*, lift by means of a lever; *tu'ur somonen*, lever; *was tu'ure*, very (too) heavy; grief, sorrow, misery.

## U

**u**, pen, pin (to fasten something with).

**ua(a)**, under, underneath, below (prefix, postposition, and adverb); see G. N. I § 4 a; *uani 1*, under, underneath; cp. G. N. I § 4 c.

**ualare**, see **lare 1**.

**uale**, wale, go, walk, tread, travel; *ada'uale*, *adawale*, meet with, go to meet (*adawale adalare* is a current expression); *ete'uale*, go astray, act wrongly; *jo'uale*, go too far; *menuale*, go or travel near by, pass near by (in order to look at something, to investigate something); *nerenuale*, walk (travel) near, travel behind, follow travelling; *mudu'uale*,

walk (travel) in it, walk (travel) within; *odotuale*, meet with, acquire, catch, grasp; *odotualana*, acquisition, catch, prize; *sia'uale*, cross a road (straightly); *umar'u-ale*, go (travel) in front; *ura'uale*, go (travel) back; *ualen kono*, put aside; *ualen lere*, roll away; *ualen lūre*, sweep aside.

**uamore**, see **more**.

**uan**, eel.

**uani 1**, see **ua(a)**.

**uani 2**, see **aun**; *uani uani*, each one, each separately; *uani aun toho*, do not let any body ..., nobody is allowed to ...

**uantapul**, heart.

**uantīri**, similar.

**uaraha**, stone, rock; *uaraha ete*,



- iron-wood tree; *uaraha lerana*, stones washed ashore; *uaraha nahutraun oone*, unbending, intractable (of human beings only, lit. like throwing against a stone).  
**uarane**, see **rane**.  
**uare 1**, prick, stab; *aha'uare*, stab through, firmly, push into the sea; *uarini*, *warini*, cock's spur; *uarnahu*, *warnahu*, wasp or other stinging insect.  
**uare 2**, jump; *ara'uare*, jump down, fall down; *me ara'uare*, throw down, humiliate; *ia'uare*, jump up, leap into the air; *mud(u)uare*, jump in; *mede'uare*, jump.  
**uarjauele** has the same meaning as *umajaele* (see **uma**); also *wari-aele*, *warjauele*.  
**uasuale**, see **suile**.  
**uasure**, see **sure**.  
**uate**, take up, take up and put down; remove; pull ashore; *i'uate*, move house, migrate; *medenuate*, lift up with force; *itana'uate*, use to marry each other, intermarry (of a connubial relation between groups); *ia'uate*, take up, contract.  
**uda**, beat, beat to death, kill; *uda pe'e*, beat with the intention to kill; *ududan*, who uses to kill, e.g. *ahi ududan* (see **ahi**).  
**ud'du**, dregs.  
**udu**, egg.  
**ue**, he, him, she, her; see G. N. II § 2 b, V § 1—2, VI § 3 a—c.  
**uete**, to push ?  
**uha 1**, sugar-cane.  
**uha 2**, enough, sufficient, fulfilled, complete; *uhan*, being sufficient (cp. *kirakira uhan*, s.v. *kirakira*); *nanuha*, quite, fully; *pai to uha*, to complete, supply; *uhan etun*, all kinds of; *uhuhan*, all sorts.  
**uhe**, not; *uheto*, not at all; *uhera*, certainly not, not at all; *jo uhe*, not at all.  
**uhele**, to weed.  
**uhene**, origin, provenance.  
**uhentono**, if.  
**uhu 1**, a kind of white earth.  
**uhu 2**, heap, pile; *uhu urani panni*, in heaps, in piles.  
**uhuhan**, see **uha 2**.  
**uhul**, tongue; *uhul koron*, uvula; *uhul me malsure*, thrust out one's tongue; *uhule*, to flame; *uhule laire*, be ablaze, all in a blaze; *anuhule*, lick.  
**uhunura**, back (of the body).  
**uhur**, fly (insect); *uhur lauratu*, big blue fly.  
**uhute**, itch.  
**uku**, thorn; *uku āni*, thorny; *uku ketele a'alare*, overcome by somebody's supernatural power (lit. having trodden upon thorny branches); *ukuku*, with small pimples, rough.  
**ula**, top, sprout, skull, human head (cut off); *ula kaunoron*, opened sprout.  
**ulajau**, skull, human head (cut off).  
**ulaje**, singed, scorched; *pai ulaje*, singe, scorch.  
**ulapua**, tail.  
**ulawara**, waist, loins; *ulawara amu*, kidneys; *ulawara utname*, place one's hands upon one's sides (lit. support waist); *ulawara weltaru*, loincloth, clothing.  
**ūle**, lazy.  
**ulen(e)**, prop, stopper.  
**ulewe**, to ladle with a spoon.  
**ulia**, spoon.  
**ulina**, ?  
**ulmou**, bald-headed.  
**ultaru**, see **ulu**.  
**ultua**, middle, between, in the

- middle; *ul(u)tuani(n)*, which is in the middle; *ultua miren*, mediator.
- ulu**, middle, navel; *ulu awajama'in*, native land (lit. place where the navel is hanging); *ul(u)taru*, navel-string.
- ulula**, top.
- ululale**, sweet (of the voice).
- ululte**, shine, sparkle, glitter.
- ulultuani**, see *ultua*.
- ululu 1**, knife, engraving-tool, stinger of insect; *ululu me sorote*, engrave, cut wood; *ulule me soroten*, wood-engraver, carver.
- ululu 2**, fish-poison.
- uma**, ground, land, world, people, earth, island; *uma a'aklare*, walk on tiptoe (lit. walk the ground slowly and carefully or almost without touching it); *uma a'akmire*, squatting, squat (lit. sit on the ground without touching it); *uma ara*, daylight; *uma aran*, being light; *uma ahamirana*, prince, radja (lit. who sits on the land strongly); *uma ashe*, wander about; *pai to uma ashe*, contagious, contaminate; *uma emehu paipain*, potter's clay, loam (earth taken to make pots); *uma ēru*, scratch the ground (like fowls); *uma eteren*, inhabitants; *uma hitne*, daybreak; *umajamoin*, cloud; *umajaele*, *umajawale*, earth, world; *umajaele mederitmun*, who has created the earth, Creator; *uma irik uma dau*, the meaning of this expression is: the land all round, every part of the land, but the meaning of the words *irik* and *dau* is not clear (cp. *dau*; probably *irik* = *dau*); *uma laki*, scratch the ground; *uma lauare*, dark, darkness; *umaleana*, strait; *uma lure*, see *lure*; *uma modo*, island; *uma nakun*, dust, sand; *uma naware*, evident, clear (lit. the world knows); *pai to uma naware*, make known; *uma nawo'ore*, oppress; *uma o'owara*, lords of the land, rightful owners of the land; *uma peseri*, leaning-place, place where something is usually kept; *uma rasa*, stranded, run aground; *pai to uma rasa*, cause to strand; *uma reireijee*, earthquake; *uma riun uma salin*, thousands and ten-thousands of people, innumerable people; *uma ru'uru'un*, thunder; *uma ru'uru'un itatatanrapa*, thunder (thunder coming together from both sides); *uma tapale*, fling on the ground; *uma ta'u*, dust; *uma ta'u mete*, be dusty; *uma tiatiale*, stamp with the feet repeatedly or continually; *uma toure*, gloomy weather (overcast sky); *uma wanaf*, night, dark; *umawara* = *uma o'owara*.
- uman(i)**, who (interrogat. pronoun); see G. N. IV § 2.
- umara** = *uma ara*.
- umar(e)**, in front, to the front, on, first; *umare pai*, to begin; *umarana*, first, formerly, the more; *umar(a) nanatana*, the more; *na'un umarana*, in the beginning; *umarana o'one*, as in the beginning, as formerly; *na'unumarana*, see *na'uni*; *sianumare*, go in front, go first.
- umari**, industrious, diligent.
- umarlare**, see *lare*.
- umar'uale**, see *uale*.
- umasihe**, not seeing anything (*uma asi he*, not seeing the world).
- ume** (in compounds only): *a'ume*, lay into; *ara'ume*, mention, pro-

- nounce, decide; *nara'ume*, mention, pronounce; *na'ume*, lay, place in, on; *mudu'(u)me*, put in, into; *ura'ume*, discharge, suspend.
- umnana**, see **umu**.
- umnoron**, see **umu**.
- umoun**, vapour, steam; *umoun jamoi*, to steam.
- umu**, die; death, eclipse; *umun(u)*, corpse, carrion; *um(u)nana*, dead; *umnoron*, ghost (*umunu-ro-n*); *umuron*, who is already dead, ghost; *umun koholasa*, coffin; *umun momor(o)*, burial-ground; *isa umumu*, see s. *isa* 3; *pai to umu*, kill.
- un** = **aun**.
- una**, eat; *ununan*, food; *ununani*, whose food it is; *unare*, eat them (cp. G. N. V § 2).
- una'(a)**, that there, there; see G. N. I § 4 a, IV § 1.
- unahere**, see **here** 1.
- unahutrau**, see **hutrau**.
- una'je**, that there, that; *unai tahini*, that's it, namely; see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- una'iri**, is that, that (emphatical); see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- unajēte**, see **jēte**.
- unalene**, see **lene**.
- unalunte**, see **lumte**.
- unamire**, see **mire**.
- unanate**, see **nate**.
- unanetekaure**, see **kaure** 2.
- unāni**, is there, stay there, there; *unānini*, who live there, living there, being there; see G. N. IV § 1 b.
- unarapale**, see **rapale**.
- unarau**, set down there, put down there; *me unarau*, *pai unarau*, set down there, put down there; cp. **rau** 2.
- untatarjēte**, see **unut**.
- untutotokur**, see **unut**.
- un(u)** = **aun**.
- ununan(i)**, see **una**.
- unut(u)**, advantage, profit, prosperity; victory, prevail; top of the head; *anunut(u)*, vanquish, overcome; *unut he*, vanquished; *unutatarjēte*, top of the skull, uppermost, zenith; *unututotokur*, skull; *mahunana nanunut*, adversity and prosperity; *unut pai*, play at dice; gamble.
- uo'on(e)**, see **oon(e)**.
- upar**, to dream; *uparana*, dreaming, who is dreaming, dream.
- upat**, cigaret, cigar.
- uphe**, roundabout, around, altogether, fully, quite.
- uplaka**, globular, ball.
- uplulu**, make a clew, double one's fist; *uplulun*, clew, fist.
- upnasale**, swallow up whole; *lolor upnasale*, swallow up without chewing.
- upnate**, see *na'ataru upnate* (s. v. *na'ataru*).
- uprara**, see **upur** 1.
- upre**, see **upur** 1.
- upum(u) a'am(a)**, favouring wind.
- upur** 1 (= *upure*, *upre*), complete, fully; *uprara*, whole and entire; stupid; *upupur*, all of them.
- upur** 2, (*upure*, *upuru*), body.
- uput(u)**, foam.
- ura**, mice.
- ura(a)**, afterwards; back, backward, from behind; see G. N. I § 4 a; *ura'i*, afterwards; *ura'i na'a*, at the end, finally.
- urahai**, to open.
- urahate panhate**, turn topsy-turvy, put in disorder.
- urahere**, see **here** 1.
- urahutrau**, see **hutrau**.
- ura'i**, see **ura(a)**.

- urak, very sleepy.  
 urakasaru, see kasarū.  
 uralare, go back; the sea at the lowest tide; *uralare panlare*, go to and fro.  
 uranasi, look back; see asi 2.  
 uranate, free, discharged, rest (lit. stand back).  
 uranere, see nere.  
 urani, at the back; *uranin(i)*, being at the back, being behind; see also uhu 2.  
 urarake, see rake.  
 urarane, see rane.  
 urarapale, see rapale.  
 urarhari, hurricane.  
 uraria panria, strike or stab around, run amok.  
 uraripare, see tipare.  
 urarutne, see rutne.  
 urasari pansari, wander about, swarm, wriggle.  
 urasuile, see suile.  
 urata, pulse, pulsation.  
 ura'uale, see uale.  
 ura'ume, see ume.  
 urhiti, see uru.  
 ur'ru, horn; *ur'ru āni*, *ur'ru mete*, horned, have horns.  
 uru, moon; *uru irimi*, full moon; *uru maleten mala*, waning moon; *uru taume*, waxing moon; *Uruwadu*, supreme deity, Creator; *ur(u)-hiti*, white as the moon; *Uruwadu ta naware*, supernatural power; *uru umu*, there is no moon.  
 uru(h), hole, cave, pit; *ururu*, with holes.  
 uruhnate, sloping.  
 urura, always back, repeatedly or continually back; *urura ne panpan'ni to o'one he*, pretext, subterfuge (lit. talk to and fro in every way that it may not happen, that it be not so); cp. *ura'(a)*.  
 usa, weeds, undergrowth; *usa tit-lana*, hay; *ususa*, all kinds of weeds, vegetation.  
 usele, slippery.  
 us'hata, wax-bar; *lawan ushata*, cast gold bar; cp. *hata*.  
 uste, request, ask; *ususte*, beg; *usustana*, request, entreaty, begging; *ustana pai*, make a request; *uste pai to houte*, haggle and bargain, beat down the price; *iuste*, *iwste*, take leave (cp. *Mal. minta diri*).  
 usu 1, bee-wax.  
 usu 2, arrangement, division of labour.  
 ususa, see usa.  
 usustana, see uste.  
 ususte, see uste.  
 ut, see utu.  
 uta 1, weave; *utunana*, woven fabric.  
 uta 2, shield; *aanuta*, take care of, protect, shield, feed.  
 utaa, see utu 4.  
 utakai, rice-bird.  
 ute'en(e), see utu 1.  
 ut'hai, see utu 3.  
 ut'halama'i, see utu 2.  
 ut'helere, to cover; cp. *nahelere*.  
 ut'hohone, confined, kept hidden in a room; cp. *hohon*.  
 utjēte, hinder, obstruct, stand in the way of, turn off (water); *utjētana*, obstruction, who obstructs etc., *utjēten pai*, to thwart etc.  
 utkodo, confined, kept hidden in a room; cp. *kodo*.  
 utlare, thwart, restrain, check; cp. *lare*.  
 utline, see line.  
 utnate, see nate.  
 utne, check, fasten, restrain, forbid; *utnēn*, prohibition; *utnēn pai*, for-

- bid; *utnana*, fastened with a peg, hanging on a peg.  
*utnutan*, part of the weaving-loom, weaving-tool; also: woven fabric.  
*utrane*, stopped; *ututanin*, secret; cp. also *rane*, *tatane*.  
*utrapa*, see *tapa*.  
*utrepele*, see *tepele*.  
*utruse*, see *rūs(u)*.  
*utseile*, see *seile*.  
*utserkede*, see *serkede*.  
*utu* 1, three; also: *utue'en(e)*, *ute'en(e)*; see G. N. III.  
*utu* 2, to cover; *ut'halama'i*, to cover; *ut'halama'in*, cover; cp. G. N. I § 4 a.  
*utu* 3, cut, cut off; as a verbal prefix it means also: finished, quite; *ut'-hai*, cause to stop, prevent from going on, forbid; cp. G. N. I § 4 a.  
*utu* 4, in front, before; *ut(u)a'a*, in front of, before; cp. G. N. I § 4 a.  
*utu* 5, soul (of a living human being).  
*utu* 6, draw water with a pail.  
*utukelese*, see *manikete* (s.v. *mani*).  
*utumire*, sit in front of, sit down in front.  
*utunate*, see *nate*.  
*utuni*, see *panu'utuni* (s.v. *panu*).  
*utunu tauru* = *seridari* (s.v. *seri* 1).  
*ututanin*, secret; cp. *rane*, *tatane*.  
*ututu*, relate, tell.  
*utwata*, obstinate.  
*u'ule*, green; *u'ule herke*, very green, quite green.  
*u'ur* = *uuraka* (?).  
*u'uraka*, raw, unripe.  
*u'ute*, sew, net, knit.

## W

- wa*, pea, bean.  
*wa'aleser(e)*, provisions, victuals.  
*wa'aru*, visit.  
*wa'at*, basket, winnow, van.  
*wada*, shield.  
*wadan*, sweet cassave; *wadan menden mutkāl*, starch.  
*wadhanhaja*, a kind of fruit (lit. Bandanese *mangga*; the Mal. name is *djambu*).  
*wade*, to dry (in sun or wind); *wadewaden*, drying-place, goods that are being dried.  
*wadelhe*, see *wadu*.  
*wadu*, sun, day, time, period of time, hour; *wadu aun*, *wadaun*, one day, once upon a day (= *wadu aun naa ioone*); *wadu elua he*, *wadeluahe*, *wadelhe*, evening (before dark); *wadu iro wanat iro*, the time has come, the time having come; *wadu jamoini*, see *jamoi*; *wadu lete lete*, often; *wadu me panwaje*, delay, defer; *wadu mura*, noon; *wadu nanuha*, every day; *wadu na'u nanuha*, every day; *wadu pesara*, festive day; *wadu saure*, tick (of a watch or clock); *wadu tina'a*, at present, at this very moment; *wadu tina'iri*, now, at present; *wadu umarana*, in former times, formerly; *wadu ura'a*, afterwards; *wadu wadu (nanuha)*, every day, all days; *wadu wanata mara mara*, after a lapse of several (many) days, in course of time; *wadu wanat tawa mara*, in the long run, at the long last; *wadu wanat ti*, at that time, in those times;



*nahawadi*, always (?); *una'a wadu tina'a*, since.

**wa'i**, **wai** 1, progenerate, beget, give birth to (of both parents), create; *nawa'i* = *wa'i*; *wa'in(i)*, parent, child, creator, creature; *wa'in oowaja*, Creator; *wa'in modasin ta naware*, supernatural power; *adawa'in*, blood-relation; *ita'adawa'in*, family in a wider sense; *jewa'i*, only child; see also **modasin**.

**wa'i**, **wai** 2, carry.

**waike**, go after something that has disappeared, go to look for.

**wain** 1, oar; *wainadur*, thoft, thwart.

**wain** 2, tooth; *wain panu*, foretooth, incisor; *wain sika sika (reu reu)*, gnash one's teeth; *wain soru*, file one's teeth.

**waite** 1, carry on one's back by means of a head-strap; *pai to nisa'un waite he*, despise (lit. make that one has not to carry anything).

**waite** 2, like; *na waite ha waite, naha waite*, like mother and father (of a chief, a ruler).

**waiwaire**, pregnant (of animals).

**waja**, gum; *waja waja*, liquid flowing from a corpse.

**wajama'i**, hang, be hanging; *itaru le wajama'i*, stuck-up, conceited; (*maro*) *itaru le wajama'in*, a conceited man or woman; *awajama'i*, hang up over (clothes and suchlike, to be dried); *ulu awajama'in*, fatherland (lit. navel-string hanging-place); *tawawajama'i*, hang together with, hang up with.

**wajan(a)** 1, a man's brother-in-law, viz. sister's husband, sister's husband's brother, wife's brother.

**wajan(a)** 2, see **lolo**.

**waje** 1, they, them, their; see G.N. II § 2, V § 1—2.

**waje** 2, to finish (a work), go away; *nerenwaje*, go away after, follow.

**waka**, deer, stag.

**wakale**, pour out (= *pai wakale?*); cp. also *seri wakale* (s. **seri** 2).

**wakau(n)**, crying about, proclamation; (*wa*) *wakaun pai*, cry about, shout.

**wak(i)le**, jump; *iwakle*, alight on (of birds); *a'awak(i)le*, jump, jump on; *horohoronwak(i)le*, see **horo**; *mud(u) wak(i)le*, jump in.

**wakuku**, teach, instruct, advise; *wakukun*, instruction, advice; *wakukun pain*, teacher etc.; *emwakukun*, pupil.

**walaje**, pay the marriage-gift.

**walale**, fast, quick, quickly; *walale pana*, quickly, quickly too; *walale he*, slow(ly).

**wālana**, see **wāle**.

**walase**, answer, return, repay, reciprocate.

**wale**, see **uale**.

**wāle**, own, possess; *wālana*, possessing, there is.

**wali** 1, ear; *wali atarlere*, deaf (lit. struck on the ear); *waliuru*, ear-hole; *waliuru na(a)jēte he*, it is infamous, shameful, a very bad act, unheard of; *walhia*, ear-drop; *walhia aluana*, lobe of the ear; *wal(i)modo*, ear-hole; temple of the head.

**wali** 2, see **odo** 2.

**walie'e**, to butt (with the horns); *itawaliee*, wage war against each other.

**walin**, sort, kind.

**walkokōro**, tapeworm.

**walur**, kind of pigeon; the Tim. Mal. name is *burung pombak* (from Port. *pomba*).

**waluru** 1, angry, bad; *walurun me pai*, apply compulsion; *awaluru*, angry with; be angry with, snarl at; *pai to waluru*, treat badly, make bad; *walwaluru*, very bad, dissolute, very conceited; *walwalurun*, who is very bad etc.; see also s. *kupa*.

**waluru** 2 = *waliuru* (see **wali** 1).  
**wamna'a**, every one of them.

**wanat**, night, time, period; *wanat nanuha*, every night; also: *wanat wanat nanuha*; *wanat upur he*, not yet fully night; *uma wanat*, darkness, dark, night.

**wani**, bee; *wani ira*, honey; *wani wari*, honey comb.

**wano'on**, agriculture, cattle-breeding; bred animals, cultivated plants; *wano'on pai*, breed animals, cattle, grow plants.

**wara**, clean, clear, evident; dew; *pai wara*, to clean; *isa wara*, see **isa** 3; *warani*, being clean etc.; *wawara*, very clean etc.; *wāre*, to clean; *wārne*, explain.

**warat(a)**, **warate**, West, western; also: *warat lapai*; *warataa*, in the West, from the West, to the West; *warat mudua*, westside, in the West; *waratnin(i)*, who is in the West, being in the West; *warat oo karna letana*, southwest; *warat oo ra'i letana*, northwest.

**wāre** 1, to hunt; *otowāre*, see **oto** 2.

**wāre** 2, see **wara**.

**ware**, hear; *ware naru*, audible; *naware*, know, understand, be able to, understanding, intelligent, able, clear, evident, trick, deception; *nawarana*, able, sensible, intelligent, cunning; *nawaranan*, ability etc.; *iar nawaren*, see **iar**; *pai to naware*, announce, make known, let know; *anumanaware*,

hope, hopeful; *anumanaware he*, despair, hopeless; *ahanawarai*, wise old men; *momor ahanawarai*, village elders; *nawarware*, listen well to, hear well; *o'o nawarwaren*, obedient, submissive; *sianawarana*, match, competition.

**warhai**, see **wari** 2.

**warhakane**, see **wari** 2.

**warhalse**, see **wari** 2.

**wari** 1, nest; *wari āni*, to nest, have a nest.

**wari** 2, fixed, permanent, lasting; *warhai*, continually; *warhalse (war)hakane*, stay in the harbour.

**wariauele**, see **uarjauale**.

**wariete**, continually.

**warini** = *uarini* (see **uare**).

**warnahu** = *uarnahu* (see **uare**).

**warnate**, bear head against, stand firm; cp. **wari** 2.

**wārne**, see **wara**.

**waru**, measuring-tool, to measure; *waruana*, measuring off; *waruee*, to measure, to divide and circumscribe; *waruh*, boundary, border.

**was**, very, too, quite well; *was modo modo he was lapai he*, middling, middle-sized.

**wasaka**, gill.

**wasake**, measure off, stake out (land).

**wāse**, mixed; *wāsana*, mixture; *wāsana āni*, impure, false; *wāsana hali*, pure, genuine; *itawāse*, to mix (with each other); the same meaning have *itawāskono* and *itawāsdida*; *pai itawāse*, to mix.

**wasi** = **was**.

**wasne**, see **was(u)ne**.

**wastono**, may! (introducing the expression of a wish).

**was(u)ne**, envelop, wrap up, pack up; *was(u)ne pai* = *was(u)ne*;



*wasun(u)*, cover, what is used for wrapping up, caul.

**wat** = **iar**.

**wata** 1, coconut, cocopalm; *wata ilan*, coconut shell; *wata losir*, cocopalm leaf.

**wata** 2, hair of the head; *wata hitne*, gray hairs; *wata isan hoho*, smell of burnt hair; *wata kelekele*, frizzled hair; *wata kumu*, hair loosely tied up; *wata kumu samuru*, hair-ornament; *wata leleu*, plaited hair; *watalika* = *wata*; *watalika nate*, hairs standing on end; *wata pai*, wash one's hair; *wata rüsu*, hair-pin.

**watae**, to see, to look; *watae le na'umu he*, look at somebody (something) fixedly and attentively; *watae le aamese*, gape at; look with an open mouth; *watae pa*, take a view of, inspect; *watawaen*, appearance, aspect, looks.

**wati** = **iar**.

**watini**, now, at present.

**wau**, wash (hands or feet); *wau-waun*, being washed, having been washed; *musa wau* = *wau*.

**wauna(a)**, anywhere (*ua unaa*); *waunāni*, is anywhere (*ua unaa āni*).

**wauni**, near, nearly, almost; *wau-wauni*, nearly, almost; *pai to wauni*, approach.

**wa(u)wre**, dance.

**wawakaun**, see **wakau**.

**wawara**, see **wara**.

**wawata**, easy, light, healthy; *wawawata*, very easy etc.

**wawawniro**, already quite near (= *wauwauni ro*).

**we**, blood; *we aheren*, native land (lit. on which the blood lies); *we arasuhale*, bleed; *we liha*, bathe

in blood; *we me iare*, take blood-vengeance; *we ruhu*, bleed; *we ula*, youngest child (lit. final blood); *we umnana*, scab on a wound (lit. dead blood).

**we'e**, side, rim, beach, coast.

**we'ere**, contradict, discourage.

**weija**, paddle; *weije'e*, to paddle; *weiweije'e*, to paddle continually.

**weije**, to delegate, despatch (a messenger); *weiweijana*, delegation, message; *weiweije'en*, delegate, messenger.

**weinwain**, boat's crew.

**wekasun** = *iraketen*; oo *wekasun* = oo *iraketen*.

**wela'a**, see **wel(n)a'a**.

**wele**, skin; *wele huale*, graze one's skin, have an abrasion.

**welia**, left.

**weljete**, on the left side.

**wel(n)a'a**, on the left side.

**wēlolo**, ditch, moat.

**welsen**, ?

**welwelu**, see **iara**.

**weltaru**, skin, cover; *weltaru ukuku*, goose-flesh.

**wenara**, uterus (lit. blood-origin).

**wera'a**, cave, hole.

**wēre**, hole, pit.

**weret(e)**, balance, pair of scales; *wereweret(e)*, pair of scales; *itawerete*, counterbalance one another.

**werletana**, ravine, gorge.

**weruwerun**, finest (of clothing).

**weten**, guilt; *weten āni*, be guilty, to sin; *weten pai*, to sin.

**weteru**, stumble, trip.

**wetik**, tree-branch.

**wetkana**, drop (of water).

**wetur**, shroud; also: *wetur kawas*; *wetwetur(u)*, part of the weaving-loom, a weaving-tool.

**weula**, the youngest.

- weweh(e)**, nature, character, behaviour.
- wewelun**, ?
- wewer**, around, roundabout, *em wewer*, surround.
- wewese**, hit, struck.
- wikane**, fine, precious.
- wil**, pustule, boil.
- wilir**, ear (of corn etc.).
- wilte**, move; *wilte he*, unmoved, motionless; *wilwilde*, move (especially of the foetus in the uterus).
- winan**, clothes' basket made of lontar-leaves; *winan hoho*, musty (smelling like a clothes' basket); *winanpau* (*winampau*) *leupau*, see *leupau*; *winan me arakono*, unship, disembark.
- winu**, seed; *win(u)to*, a half coconut shell used to sow with.
- wirau**, to shell, unhusk.
- wirte**, shame; *inawirte*, ashamed, be ashamed.
- wirwiri**, move to and fro, wave.
- wisar(a)**, speech, language, oration; *wisare*, to speech, harangue; *wisaren*, who addresses, makes a pronouncement, harangues; *wisara itoone*, agree; see also *lukun(u)*.
- wisi**, top.
- wisu**, to bite.
- wo**, song; *woje*, to sing; also *wo-woje*; *a'awolen*, praise (subst.); *nawole*, to praise, glorify; *itali-aren wo*, see *liare*; *wowoje to taja*, to sing to sleep.
- wohi**, be in motion; *wohi wohi*, be moving continually.
- woin(i)**, yesterday; also *woinani*.
- wolowolo**, shaken, frightened; *isatapu wolowolo* = *isatapu ruru* (see s. isa 3).
- wo'ote**, to van, winnow.
- wora'a**, also, again.
- worawa**, repudiate, chase away; *worawan*, somebody who is continually contradicting and resisting; see also *sesi*.
- woro**, supernatural being giving courage and strength.
- wotore**, to wind round.
- wouwou**, blowing-gun; *wouwou amu*, blowing-gun arrow; *wouwou tapa*, shoot with a blowing-gun.
- wowoje**, see *wo*.
- wuhur**, second caste; also *wuhuru*, *wuhru*.
- wulun**, character, model, behaviour; custom, example; also *wulun japin*.
- wunhai**, see *hurumaha*.
- wuri**, appease, hush, soothe.
- wuru**, oil, fat; *wuru me*, scum, skim.
- wusane**, soft, weak; *wusawusane*, very soft, very weak; (*wusa*) *wusane naha tôte he*, tough and flexible.
- wuwur**, prick, stab.

